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A
V I E W
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,
FROM THE
CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.
INCLUDING
AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CELEBRATED REVOLUTIONS
IN
FRANCE, POLAND, SWEDEN, GENEVA,
&c. &c.
TOGETHER WITH
AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE
OF THE LATE
MILITARY OPERATIONS;
AND OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS.

By the Rev. J. ADAMS, A.M.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

History is philosophy, teaching by examples, how to conduct ourselves in every
situation of private or public life. *Belingbroke.*

A man who does not think he dropped from the clouds, or does not date the
origin of the world from the day of his nativity, ought naturally to be
curious of being acquainted with the transactions of different ages and
countries. *King of Prussia.*

LONDON:

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V. I. W.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

FROM THE
GREATNESS TO THE PRESENT TIME

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE
CELEBRATED REVOLUTIONS

OF THE
FRANCE, ROMAN, GREEK, &c.



MILITARY OPERATIONS

AND OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS

By the Rev. J. A. ADAMS, A.M.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II.

History is the science which teaches the principles of human conduct, and the causes of the various events which have taken place in the world.

A man who is not acquainted with the principles of history, is like a man who is not acquainted with the principles of geometry, or of astronomy, or of any other science, is unable to understand the causes of the various events which have taken place in the world.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY G. BARNARD, NO. 1, FLEET STREET.

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CHART XT

OF AMERICA BY GENERAL

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can be traced—A picture of the
culture and language of the
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and fall of America—The picture in
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DIZ SALES

—The first name of the vessel is an Indian. The
 Arts, Literature, and Commerce of the Indians and Americans.

Of Florida, and other Spanish possessions in North America.

V I E W OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

ENGLAND, CONTINUED.

William and Mary—Siege of Londonderry—Battle of the Boyne—Origin of the Public Funds—William resolves to humble France—Land-tax—Death and character of William—Anne—Marlborough—The Union—Peace of Utrecht—Letter from the Pretender—Character of Queen Anne.

HAD it not been for the baleful influence of the Jesuits over James, the prince of Orange might have found his views upon the crown frustrated. The conduct of James gave him advantages which he could not otherwise have hoped for. Few were in the prince's secret, and when a convention of the states was called, there seemed reason to believe, that had not James abdicated his throne, it would not have been filled by the prince and princess of Orange.

William had no sooner ascended the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people, who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them.

His reign commenced with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. Born and educated in a country where all religions and sects are tolerated, William immediately set about repealing those laws that enjoined uniformity of worship, and though he could not entirely succeed in his design, a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles.

In the mean time James, whose authority was still acknowledged in Ireland, embarked at Brest for that kingdom, and

arrived at Kinsale. He soon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He found the appearance of things in that country equal to his most sanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord lieutenant, was devoted to his interests; his old army was steady, and a new one raised, amounting together to near forty thousand men.

As soon as the season would permit, he went to lay siege to Londonderry, a town of small importance in itself, but rendered famous by the stand which it made on this occasion. The besieged endured the most poignant sufferings from fatigue and famine, until at last relieved by a store ship, that happily broke the boom laid across the river to prevent a supply. The joy of the inhabitants at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and disappointment of the besiegers. The army of James was so dispirited by the success of this enterprize, that they abandoned the siege in the night; and retired with precipitation, after having lost above nine thousand men before the place.

It was upon the opposite banks of the river A. D. 1690. Boyne that both armies came in sight of each other, inflamed with all the animosities arising from religion, hatred, and revenge. The river Boyne, at this place, was not so deep, but that men might wade over on foot; however the banks were rugged, and rendered dangerous by old houses and ditches, which served to defend the latent enemy. William, who now headed the protestant army, had no sooner arrived, but he rode along the side of the river, in sight of both armies, to make proper observations on the plan of battle; but in the mean time being perceived by the enemy, a cannon was privately brought out, and planted against him while he was sitting. The shot killed several of his followers, and he himself was wounded in the shoulder.

Early the next morning at six o'clock, king William gave orders to force a pass over the river. This the army undertook in three different places; and after a furious cannonading, the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, though reckoned the best in Europe abroad, have always fought indifferently at home. After an obstinate resistance, they fled with precipitation, leaving the French and Swiss regiments who came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his horse in person and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to secure the victory. James was not in the battle, but stood aloof, during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing those of the enemy, "O spare my English subjects." The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men,

men, and the protestants about one third of that number. The victory was splendid and almost decisive. In the battle at Aughrim, which happened next year, the adherents of James were entirely defeated.

King William's chief object was to humble the power of France, and his reign was spent in an almost uninterrupted course of hostilities with that power, which were supported by England, at an expence she had never known before. A land tax was imposed, and every subject's land taxed, according to their valuations given in by the several counties. Those who were the most loyal gave the highest valuations, and were the heaviest taxed; and this preposterous burthen still continues. But the greatest and boldest operation in finances, that ever took place, was established in this reign; which was the carrying on the war by borrowing money upon the parliamentary securities, now called *the public funds*. The chief projector of this scheme is said to have been Charles Montague, afterwards lord Halifax. His chief argument for such a project was, that it would oblige the monied part of the nation to befriend the Revolution interest, because, after lending their money, they could have no hopes of being repaid but by supporting that interest, and the weight of taxes would oblige the commercial people to be more industrious*. How well those views have been answered is evident from the present state of public credit.

William, notwithstanding the vast service he had done to the nation, and the public benefits which took place under his auspices, particularly in the establishment of the Bank of England, and the re-coining the silver money, met with so many mortifications from his parliament, that he actually resolved upon an abdication, and had drawn up a speech for that purpose, which he was prevailed upon to suppress. He long bore the affronts he met with in hopes of being supported in his war with France, but at last he A.D. 1697. was forced to conclude the peace of Ryswick with the French, who acknowledged his title to the crown of England. By this time William had lost his queen†, but the government was continued in his person. After peace was restored, the commons obliged him to disband his army, all but an inconsiderable number, and to dismiss his favourite Dutch guards. Towards the end of his reign, his fears of seeing the whole Spanish monarchy in possession of France at the death of the Catholic king Charles II. which was every day expected, led him into a very impolitic measure, which was the partition treaty with France, by which that monarchy

* Burnet. † She died of the small pox, Dec. 28, 1694, in the thirty-third year of her age.

was to be divided between the houses of Bourbon and Austria. This treaty was highly resented by the parliament, and some of his ministry were impeached for advising it. It is thought that William saw his error when it was too late. His ministers were acquitted from their impeachment, and the death of king James discovered the insincerity of the French court, which immediately proclaimed his son king of Great Britain.

This perfidy rendered William again popular in England. The two houses passed the bill of abjuration, and an address for a war with France. The last and most glorious act of William's reign was his passing the bill for settling the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover. His death was

March 28,
A. D. 1702.

hastened by a fall he had from his horse, soon after he had renewed the grand alliance against France, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign in England. This prince was not made by nature for popularity. His manners were cold and forbidding; he seemed also sometimes almost to lose sight of those principles of liberty, for the support of which he had been raised to the throne; and though he owed his royalty to the whigs, yet he often favoured the tories. The rescue and preservation of religion and public liberty were the chief glory of William's reign; for England under him suffered severely both by sea and land, and the public debt, at the time of his death amounted to the unheard of sum of 14,000,000*l*.

Anne, princess of Denmark, by virtue of the act of settlement, and being the next protestant heir to her father James II. succeeded king William in the throne. As she had been ill treated by the late king, it was thought she would have deviated from his measures; but the behaviour of the French in acknowledging the title of her brother, who has since been well known by the name of the pretender, left her no choice, and she resolved to fulfil all William's engagements with his allies, and to employ the earl of Marlborough, who had been imprisoned in the late reign on a suspicion of jacobitism, and whose wife was her favourite, as her general. She could not have made a better choice of a general and statesman, for that earl excelled in both capacities. No sooner was he placed at the head of the English army abroad, than his genius and activity gave a new turn to the war, and he became as much the favourite of the Dutch as his wife was of the queen.

The capital measure of continuing the war against France being fixed, the queen found no great difficulty in forming her ministry, who were for the most part tories. The earl of Godolphin, who (though afterwards a leading whig) was thought all his life to have a predilection for the late king James and his queen, was placed at the head of the treasury.

His son had married the earl of Marlborough's eldest daughter, and the earl could trust no other with that important department. In the course of the war, several glorious victories were obtained by the earl, who was soon made duke of Marlborough. Those of Blenheim and Ramillies gave the first effectual checks to the French A. D. 1704. power. By that of Blenheim, the empire of Germany was saved from immediate destruction. Though prince Eugene was that day joined in command with the duke, yet the glory of the day was confessedly owing to the latter. The French general, Tallard, was taken prisoner and sent to England; and 20,000 French and Bavarians were killed, wounded or drowned in the Danube, besides about 13,000 who were taken, and a proportionable number of cannon, artillery, and trophies of war. About the same time, the English admiral, sir George Rooke, reduced Gibraltar, which still remains in our possession. The battle of Ramillies was fought and gained under the duke A. D. 1706. of Marlborough alone. The loss of the enemy there has been variously reported; it is generally supposed to have been 8000 killed or wounded, and 6000 taken prisoners.

The views of the allies extended with their successes. Having humbled France, they aspired at the conquest of Spain. It was accordingly resolved, that no peace should be made with the house of Bourbon, while a prince of that house continued to sit upon the Spanish throne. Thus were the objects of the confederacy in a great measure changed. Before this change the war was wise and just, because necessary to maintain that equality among the powers of Europe on which their peace and common prosperity depend; but afterwards it was unwise and unjust, because unnecessary to such end, and directed to other and contrary ends. After this change, it became a war of passion, of ambition, of avarice, and of private interest, to which the general interests of Europe were sacrificed so entirely, that, if the terms insisted on by the confederates had been granted, such a new system of power would have been created as must have exposed the balance of that power to deviations, not inferior to those which the war was originally intended to prevent. While we reprobate this ambitious scheme considered in a general view, we find particular occasion to lament the fate of Great Britain, in the midst of triumphs that have been sounded so high. Victories that bring honour to the arms, may bring shame to the councils of a nation. To win a battle, to take a town, is the glory of a commander, and of an army. Of this glory we had a very large share. But the wisdom of a nation is to proportion the

ends she proposes to her interest and her strength. Great Britain neither expected nor desired any thing beyond what she might have obtained, by adhering to the first principles of the grand alliance. But she was hurried into those of the new plan by the causes which I have already mentioned: by the prejudices and the rashness of party; by the influence which the successes of the arms of the confederates gave to our ministers, Godolphin and Marlborough; and by the popularity, if I may so speak, which they gave to the war itself. The people were unwilling to put an end to a contest that afforded so many occasions of public rejoicing, and so wide a range for national pride.

The English ministry, however, though thus lavish of the blood and treasure of the nation, in support of unnecessary foreign wars, were by no means negligent of its internal tranquillity and happiness. The union of England and Scotland, under one legislature, which had been often attempted in vain, was at last accomplished, after a long and warm debate between the commissioners of the two kingdoms; and, in consequence of it, all disputes concerning the Scottish crown were fortunately prevented.

In this famous treaty it was stipulated that the accession to the united kingdoms should be vested in the house of Hanover; that the united kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament; that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that they should have the same allowances and privileges with respect to commerce and customs; that the laws concerning public right, civil government, and policy, should be the same throughout the two united kingdoms; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident benefit of the subjects of Scotland; that the courts of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain, as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degrees, at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers; that all the insignia of royalty and government should remain as they were; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent

ent with the terms of these articles, should cease and be declared void by the respective parliament of the two kingdoms*. These were the principal articles of the union: and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority.

The arguments of these different assemblies were suited to the audience. To induce the Scotch parliament to come into the measure, it was alledged by the ministry and their supporters, that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches and commerce; the whole island would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests. It would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interests, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was observed that the less the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were shewn that the taxes which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means so proportionably great as their share in the legislature. That their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English; and yet their share in the legislature was not a tenth part less. Such were the arguments in favour of the union addressed to the Scotch parliament. In the English houses it was observed, that a powerful and dangerous nation would thus for ever be prevented from giving them any disturbance. That in case of any future rupture, England had every thing to lose and nothing to gain against a nation that was courageous and poor.

On the other hand, the Scotch were fired with indignation at the thoughts of losing their ancient and independent government. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, and considered their new privilege of trading to the English plantations in the West Indies, as a very uncertain advantage. In the English houses also it was observed, that the union of a rich with a poor nation would always be beneficial to the latter, and that the former could only hope for a participation of their necessities. It was said that the Scotch reluctantly yielded to his coalition, and that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent.

* Defoe's History of the Union.

That some of the evils, foretold by the Scottish patriots at the union, have since overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied; particularly the accumulation of taxes, in consequence of the growth of the English national debt, which then amounted only to about twenty millions, and the multiplication of the herd of insolent revenue officers. Yet have the Scots, from that æra, enjoyed more happiness, as individuals, than they could possibly have attained in their disunited state. Nor has England reason to complain of the union. Instead of turbulent neighbours, she has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy soldiers to fight her battles, and industrious workmen in every branch of manufactures. She has secured for ever the undivided sovereignty of Great Britain, and the liberties of Englishmen, against the usurpations of foreign or domestic ambition, by making the conservation of that sovereignty, and those liberties, the common interest of all the brave and free subjects of the united kingdom.

The disputes about the prerogative, the succession, religion, and other public matters, had created great ferment in the nation and parliament. The queen at first stuck close to the duke of Marlborough and his friends, who finding that the tories inclined to treat with France, put themselves at the head of the whigs, who were for continuing the war, from which the duke and his dependents, according to their stations, received immense emoluments. The failures of the Germans and Dutch could not however be longer dissembled, and the personal interest of the duchess of Marlborough, with the queen, began to be shaken by her own haughtiness. Means, too were found to convince her majesty, who was much attached to the church of England, that the war in the end, if continued, must prove ruinous to her and her people, and that the whigs were no friends to the national religion. The general cry of the deluded people was, that "the church was in danger;" which, though groundless, had great effects. One Sacheverel, an ignorant, worthless preacher, had espoused this clamour in one of his sermons, with the ridiculous impracticable doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. It was, as it were, agreed by both parties to try their strength in this man's case. He was impeached by the commons, and found guilty by the lords, who ventured to pass upon him only a very small censure. After this trial, the queen's affections were entirely alienated from the duchess of Marlborough, and the whig administration. Her friends lost their places which were supplied by tories, and even the command of the army was taken from the duke of Marlborough, and given to the duke of Ormond,

A. D. 1712.

mond, who produced orders for a cessation of arms; but they were disregarded by the queen's allies in the British pay. And indeed, the removal of the duke of Marlborough from the command of the army, while the war was continued was an act of the greatest imprudence, and excited the astonishment of all Europe. So numerous had been his successes, and so great his reputation, that his very name was almost equivalent to an army. But the honour and interest of a nation was sacrificed to court intrigues, managed by Mr. Harley and Mrs. Masham, a relation of the dutchess of Marlborough, who had supplanted her benefactress.

Conferences were now opened for peace at Utrecht, to which the queen and the French king sent plenipotentiaries; and the allies being defeated at Denain, grew sensible that they were not a match for the French, now that they were abandoned by the English. Mr. Harley, who was created earl of Oxford and lord high-treasurer of England, was at this time considered as the queen's first minister; but the negotiations for peace went also through the hands of Mr. Prior, and lord Bolingbroke, one of the principal secretaries of state. The ministry endeavoured to stifle the complaints of the whigs, and the remonstrances of prince Eugene, who arrived in England on the part of the allies, by falling upon the contractors, foragers, and other agents of the fleet and army, whom they accused of corrupt practices. The queen was at this time in a critical situation. The whigs condemned the peace as injurious to the honour and interest of the nation. The majority of the house of lords were of that party, but that of the house of commons were tories. The queen was afraid that the peers would reject the peace, and by an unprecedented exercise of her prerogative she created twelve peers at one time, which secured the approbation of the parliament for the peace. The treaties between the different powers, so long negotiated, were at last signed at March 31,
A. D. 1713. Utrecht, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor resolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refusing to sign the stipulations until a principality should be provided, in the Low Countries, for the prince of Orfni, the favourite of his queen*.

From the complexion of the times at this critical period, it is probable that the queen, by some secret influence, which never has yet been discovered, and was even concealed from some of her ministers, wished to call her brother to the succession. He had written a letter to her, some time before, in

which he put her in mind of the affection that ought to subsist between two persons so nearly related, and recalled to her memory, her repeated promises to their common parent:—
 “To you,” said he, “and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and of nature are loud in your ear! The preservation of our family, the preventing of intestine wars, and the prosperity of our country combine, to require you to rescue me from affliction, and yourself from misery. Though restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the last male of an ancient line, to the remotest relation we have in the world. Neither you nor the nation have received any injury at my hands: therefore, madam, as you tender your honour and happiness—as you love your family, as you revere the memory of your father—as you regard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure you to meet me, in this friendly way of composing our difference!—The happiness of both depends upon your determination: you have it in your power to deliver me from the reproach that invariably follows unfortunate princes, and to render your own memory dear to posterity*.”

The rest of the queen's life was rendered uneasy by the jarring of parties, and the contentions among her ministers. The whigs demanded a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge to come to England; and she was obliged hastily to dismiss her lord treasurer, A. D. 1282. when she fell into a lethargic disorder, which carried her off in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign †. This princess, notwithstanding the illustrious events of her reign, is entitled to little praise: she possessed neither vigour of mind, splendid talents, nor a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the most enslaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, she can hardly be said to have ever thought for herself, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But as her popularity concealed the weakness of her personal authority, the great abilities of her principal servants, to whom she owed that popularity, threw a splendid veil over the feeble qualities of queen Anne.

* Stuart papers. † With her ended the line of the Stuarts, which, from the accession of James I. anno 1603, had swayed the sceptre of England 111 years, and that of Scotland 343 years, from the accession of Robert II. anno 1371.

C H A P. II.

George I.—Rebellion in favour of the Pretender—Septennial Bill—South-Sea Scheme—Institution of the Sinking Fund—George II.—Sir Robert Walpole—Mr. Pelham—Adventures and distresses of the young Pretender—Admiral Byng's Punishment—Mr. Pitt's Administration—Successes of the English—Reduction of Quebec—Character of General Wolfe—Death and Character of George II.

UPON the death of queen Anne, the succession took place in terms of the act of settlement, and George I. elector of Hanover, son of the princess Sophia, grand-daughter of James I. was proclaimed king of Great Britain; his mother, who would have been next in succession, having died a few days before. He was fifty-four years old when he ascended the throne; and his abilities, though not shining, were solid; he was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. These were known to a proverb, for leaving their friends in extremity; George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, was heard to say, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." To these qualifications of resolution and perseverance, he joined great application to business. However, one fault with respect to England remained behind; he studied the interests of those subjects he had left, more than those he came to govern.

George came over to England with strong prepossessions against the tory ministry, most whom he displaced; but this did not make any great alteration to his prejudice in England. Many of the Scots, however, by the influence of the earl of Mar, and other chiefs, were driven into rebellion, and defeated by the king's troops in A. D. 1715. the famous battle of Sheriff-muir. Some deluded noblemen and gentlemen in the North of England joined a party of the Scotch rebels, but they were surrounded at Preston, where they delivered up their arms, and their leaders were sent prisoners to London where some of them suffered.

Such was the issue of a rebellion, which had its origin in the intrigues in favour of the pretender, during the latter years of the reign of queen Anne, and not in the measures of the new government. Its declared object was the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain; which
many

many intelligent writers have supposed would have been attended with fewer inconveniencies than the accession of the house of Hanover. But they who reflect that the pretender was a bigotted papist, and not only obstinately refused to change his religion, though sensible it incapacitated him from legally succeeding to the crown, but studiously avoided, in his very manifestoes, giving any open and unequivocal assurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, *as by law established* *, will find reason to be of another opinion. They will consider the suppression of this rebellion, which defeated the designs of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguished the hopes of the pretender, as an event of the utmost importance to the happiness of Great Britain.

The nation, however, was in such a disposition that the ministry durst not venture to call a new parliament, and the members of that which was sitting, voted a continuance of their duration from three to seven years, which is thought to have been the greatest stretch of parliamentary power ever known, and a very indefensible step.

A national punishment, different from plague, pestilence and famine, overtook England, by the sudden

A. D. 1720. rise of the South-Sea stock, one of the trading companies. This company was but of late erection, and was owing to a scheme of carrying on an exclusive trade, and making a settlement in the South-Seas, which had been formed in 1711. In 1720, the company obtained an act to increase their capital stock by redeeming the public debts; and was then invested with the *assiento* of negroes, which had been stipulated between Great Britain and Spain. In short, it became so favourite a company, that it rose to 310l. for 100l. before the bill had the royal assent in April; before the end of May to 500l.; and by the twentieth of June, their stock rose to 890l. per cent., and afterwards to 1000l. but before the end of September it fell to 150l. by which thousands were involved in ruin. Though this might be owing to the inconsiderate avarice of the subscribers, yet the public imagined that the ministry had contributed to the calamity; and some of the directors insinuated that the ministers and their friends had been the chief gainers. The latter, however, had the address to escape without censure, but the parliament passed a bill which confiscated the estates of the directors, with an allowance for their maintenance; a poor reparation for the public injuries. About the same time, one John Law, a Scotchman, imposed upon the French by erecting a company under the name of the Mississippi, which pro-

* Lord Bolingbroke's Letters.

mised that deluded people great wealth, but which ended in involving the French nation in great distress.

The discontents occasioned by these public calamities once more gave the disaffected party hopes of succeeding. But in all their councils they were weak, divided, and wavering. The first person who was seized upon suspicion was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate long obnoxious to the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formidable to any ministry he opposed. His papers were seized, and he himself confined in the Tower. Soon after the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and some others of inferior rank, were arrested and imprisoned. Of all these, however, only the bishop, who was banished, and one Mr. Layer, who was hanged at Tyburn, felt the severity of government, the proofs against the rest amounting to no convictive evidence*.

A treaty was concluded at Hanover, between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Prussia, A. D. 1725. to counterbalance an alliance that had been formed between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. A squadron was sent to the Baltic, to hinder the Russians from attacking Sweden, another to the Mediterranean, and a third under admiral Hosier, to the West Indies, to watch the Spanish plate fleets. This last was a fatal as well as an inglorious expedition. The admiral and most of his men perished by epidemical diseases, and the hulks of his ships rotted so as to render them unfit for service. The management of the Spaniards was little better. They lost near 10,000 men in the siege of Gibraltar, which they were obliged to raise. The king in his speech to the parliament publicly accused the emperor of a design to place the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; but this was strenuously denied by baron Palmé the imperial ambassador at London, who was therefore ordered to leave the kingdom. A quarrel with the emperor was the most dangerous to Hanover of any that could happen; and therefore the parliament granted money and subsidies, for the protection of Hanover, to the kings of Denmark and Sweden and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Such was the state of affairs in Europe, when George I. suddenly died, at Osnaburgh, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. He was a prudent and virtuous prince; but his attachment to his German dominions, which has been much magnified, was made use of by the tories to render him odious to the English nation.

The reign of George I. is remarkable for the incredible number of bubbles and cheating projects to which it gave rise, by which it was reckoned that almost a million and a half was won and lost; and for the great alteration of the system of Europe, by the concern which the English took in the affairs of the continent. The institution of the sinking fund for diminishing the national debt, is likewise owing to this period.

The accession of George II. made no alteration in the system of British politics. The administration was wisely continued in the hands of the whigs, the only true friends to the protestant succession, as to the principles of revolution: and the same tory faction, which had so frequently attempted to thwart the measures, and overturn the throne of the first George, continued their violent opposition in parliament, during the more early part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction, namely, sir William Wyndham, Mr Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others, being men of great abilities, were soon joined by certain disgusted courtiers, of equal, if not superior talents, who hoped, by such coalition, to humble their successful rivals, and get into their own hands the highest employments of the state. Mr. Pultney, the finest speaker of the house of commons, and lately a member of administration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret and the earl of Chesterfield, the most distinguished orators in the house of peers, afterwards joined the phalanx.

This powerful body, by continually opposing the measures of government, and passionately railing against continental connexions, soon acquired great popularity, and at last became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or country party, as the members in opposition called themselves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midst of the most profound peace, and the highest national prosperity; and a small standing army, which it was thought prudent to keep up, was represented as an engine of despotism. The liberties of the people were believed by many to be in danger. But those liberties, or at least the freedom of the constitution, has suffered more from a pernicious system of domestic policy, which that violent opposition at first made necessary, than from the so much dreaded military establishment.

Sir Robert Walpole was considered as first minister of England from George the First's death, and some differences having happened between him and the prince of Wales, it was generally thought, upon the accession of the latter upon the throne, that sir Robert would be displaced. That might have been the case, could another person have been found equally capable, as he was, to manage the house of commons, and to gratify

tify that predilection for Hanover which George II. inherited from his father. No minister ever understood better the temper of the people, and, none perhaps, ever tried it more. He filled all places of power, trust, and profit, and almost the house of commons itself, with his own creatures; but peace was his darling object, because he thought that war must be fatal to his power. During his long administration he never lost a question that he was in earnest to carry. The excise scheme was the first measure that gave a shock to his power, and even that he could have carried, had he not been afraid of the spirit of the people without doors, which might have either produced an insurrection or endangered his interest in the next general election.

Possessed of great abilities, but destitute of principle, sir Robert made no scruple of employing the money voted by parliament, in order to corrupt its members. Having discovered that almost every man had his price, he bought many, and, to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections. The fountain of liberty was poisoned in its source. "To destroy British liberty," says a sensible writer, "with an army of Britons, is not a measure so sure of success as some people may believe. To corrupt the parliament is a slower, but a more effectual method. Whenever the people of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by corruption, for they are no longer in danger of being awed by prerogative, to chuse persons to represent them in parliament, whom they have found by experience to be under an influence arising from private interest, dependants upon a court, and the creatures of a minister; or others, who bring no recommendation, but that which they carry in their purses; then will that trite proverbial speech be verified in our case, that the corruption of the best things is the worst: for then will that very change in the state of property and power, which improved our constitution so much, contribute to the destruction of it *."

This pacific system, however, brought sir Robert Walpole into inconveniences both at home and abroad. It encouraged the Spaniards to continue their depredations upon the British shipping in the American seas, and the French to treat the English court with insolence and neglect. At home, many of the great peers thought themselves slighted, and interested themselves more than ever they had done in elections. This, together with the disgust of the people at the proposed excise scheme, and passing the *Gin Act*, A. D. 1736, increased the minority in the house of commons to 130, some of whom were as able men and as

* Bolingbroke.

good speakers as ever had sat in a parliament; and taking advantage of the increasing complaints against the Spaniards, they attacked the minister with great strength of argument, and with great eloquence. In justice to Walpole, it should be observed, that he filled the courts of justice with able and upright judges, nor was he ever known to attempt any subversion of the known law of the kingdom. He was so far from checking the freedom of debate, that he bore with equanimity the most scurrilous debate that was thrown out to his face. He gave way to one or two prosecutions for libels, in compliance to his friends, who thought themselves affected by them; but it is certain, that the press of England never was more open or free than during his administration.

With regard to the king's own personal concern in public matters, Walpole was rather his minister than his favourite; and his majesty often hinted to him, as Walpole himself has been heard to acknowledge, that he was responsible for all measures of government. Queen Caroline, consort, to George

II. was always a firm friend to the minister; but
A. D. 1737. she died, when a variance subsisted between the king and his son, the prince of Wales. The

latter complained, that through Walpole's influence he was deprived not only of the power but the provision to which his birth entitled him; and he put himself at the head of the opposition with so much firmness, that it was generally foreseen Walpole's power was drawing to a crisis. At the general election, so prevalent was the interest of the prince of Wales in England, and that of the duke of Argyle in Scotland, that a majority was returned to parliament who were no friends to the minister, and after a few trying

A. D. 1742. divisions, he retired from the house, was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

George II. bore the loss of his minister with the greatest equanimity, and even conferred titles of honour, and posts of distinction, upon the heads of the opposition. By this time, the death of the emperor Charles VI. the danger of the pragmatic sanction, (which meant the succession of his daughter to all the Austrian dominions), through the ambition of France, who had filled all Germany with her armies, and many other concurrent causes, induced George to take the leading part in a continental war. He was encouraged to this by lord Carteret, whom he had made secretary of state, and indeed by the voice of the nation in general. George accordingly put him-

self at the head of his army, fought and gained
A. D. 1743. the battle of Dettingen; and his not suffering his general, the earl of Stair, to improve the
blow,

blow, was thought to proceed from tendernefs for his electoral dominions. This partiality created an univerfal flame in England; and a clamour raised againft his lordfhip's meafures was increased by the duke of Newcastle and his brother, lord chancellor Hardwicke, lord Harrington, and other minifters, who refigned, or offered to refign their places, if lord Carteret fhould retain his influence in the cabinet. His majefty was obliged to give way to what he thought was the voice of his people, and he indulged them with accepting the fervices of fome gentlemen who had never been confidered as zealous friends to the houfe of Hanover. After various removals, Mr. Pelham was placed at the head of the treafury, and appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, and confequently was confidered as firft minifter; or rather the power of the premierfhip was divided between him and his brother the duke of Newcastle.

Great Britain was then engaged in a very expenfive war both againft the French and Spaniards, and her enemies thought to avail themfelves of the general difcontents that had prevailed in England on account of Hanover, and which, even in parliamentary debates, were thought by fome to exceed the bounds of decency. This naturally fuggested to them the idea of applying to the pretender, who refided at Rome; and he agreed that his fon Charles, who was a fprightly young man, fhould repair to France, from whence he fet fail, and narrowly efaped, with a few followers, in a frigate, to the Weftern cofts of Scotland, between the ifland of Mull and Sky, where he difcovered himfelf, afsembled his followers, and publifhed a manifefto exciting the nation to a rebellion. It is neceffary, before we relate the true caufe of this enterprize, to make a fhort retrofpect to foreign parts.

The war of 1741 proved unfortunate in the Weft Indies, through the fatal divifions between admiral Vernon and general Wentworth who commanded the land troops; and it is thought that above 20,000 Britifh foldiers and feamen perifhed in the impracticable attempt of Carthageña, and the inclemency of the air and climate during other idle expeditions. The year 1742 had been fpent in negotiations with the courts of Petersburgh and Berlin, which, though expenfive, proved of little or no fervice to Great Britain; fo that the victory of Dettingen left the French troops in much the fame fituation as before. A difference between the admirals Matthews and Leftock had fuffered the Spanifh and French fleets to efcape out of Toulon with but little lofs; and foon after, the French, who had before only acted as allies to the Spaniards, declared war againft Great Britain, who, in her turn, declared war againft the French. The Dutch, the natural allies of Eng-

land, during this war, carried on a most lucrative trade; nor could they be brought to act against the French, till the people entered into associations and insurrections against the government. Their marine was in a miserable condition, and when they at last sent a body of troops to join the British and Austrian armies, which had been wretchedly commanded for one or two campaigns, they did it with so bad a grace, that it was plain they did not intend to act in earnest. When the duke of Cumberland took upon himself the command of the army, the French, to the great reproach of the allies, were almost masters of the barrier of the Netherlands, and were besieging Tournay. The duke attempted to raise the siege; but by the coldness of the Austrians, the cowardice of the Dutch, whose government all along held a secret correspondence with France, and misconduct somewhere else, he lost the battle of Fontenoy, and 7000 of his best men; though it is generally allowed that his dispositions were excellent, and both he and his troops fought with unexampled intrepidity. To counterbalance such a train of misfortunes, admiral Anson returned this year to England, with an immense treasure about a million sterling, which he had taken from the Spaniards in his voyage round the world; and commodore Warren, with colonel Pepperel, took from the French the important town and fortress of Louisburgh, in the island of Cape Breton.

Such was the state of affairs abroad, when A. D. 1745. the pretender's eldest son, at the head of some Highland followers, surprized and disarmed a party of the king's troops in the Western Highlands, and advanced with great rapidity to Perth. I shall only add to what has been said of the progress and suppression of this rebellion, that it spread too great an alarm through England. The government never so thoroughly experienced, as it did at that time, the benefit of the public debt for the support of the revolution. The French and the Jacobite party (for such there was at that time in England), had laid a deep scheme of distressing the bank; but common danger abolished all distinctions, and united them in the defence of one interest, which was private property. The merchants undertook, in their address to the king, to support it by receiving bank notes in payment. This seasonable measure saved public credit; and the rebels were entirely defeated by the duke of Cumberland, on the plains of Culloden, about nine miles distant from Inverness. The victory was in every respect decisive, and humanity to the conquerors would have rendered it glorious. But little mercy was shewn here; the conquerors were seen to refuse quarter to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceless; some were slain who were only excited by curiosity

to become spectators of the combat, and soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner. Civil war is in itself terrible, but more so when heightened by unnecessary cruelty. How guilty soever an enemy may be, it is the duty of a brave soldier to remember that he is only to fight an opposer, and not a suppliant.

In this manner were blasted all the hopes, and all the ambition of the young adventurer; one short hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and sceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind, except such as sought his destruction. There is a striking similitude between his adventures and those of Charles the Second, upon his escape from Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and dependent on the wretched natives, who could pity, but not relieve him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions of his distress, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, as there was a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept most faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He had occasion in the course of his concealments, to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whose veneration for his family prevailed above their avarice.

One day having walked from morning to night, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party. As he entered, he addressed the master of the house in the following manner. "The son
"of your king comes to beg a little bread, and a few cloaths.
"I know your present attachment to my adversaries, but I
"believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or to take advantage of my distressed situation. Take
"these rags that have for some time been my only covering;
"you may probably restore them to me one day when I shall
"be seated on the throne of Great Britain." The master of the house was touched with pity at his distress; he assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the secret.

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near six months, often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still rescued by some lucky accident from the impending danger. At length a privateer of St. Maloes, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lochnanach, in which he embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frize, threadbare, over which was a common highland plaid girt round by a belt, from which depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been

shifted for many weeks; his eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, and a few other exiles. They set sail for France, and after having been chased by two English men of war, they arrived in safety at a place called Roseau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance of his pursuers been relaxed by a report that he was already slain.

In the mean time, while the pretender was thus pursued, scaffolds and gibbets were preparing for his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Kenington common in the neighbourhood of London. Their constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause than even, perhaps, their victories would have obtained. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to the plantations in North America. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, and the others were beheaded on Tower-hill.

Tranquillity, however, was not restored to Europe. Though the prince of Orange, son-in-law to his majesty George II. was, by the credit of his majesty, and the spirit of the people of the United Provinces, raised to be their Stadtholder, the Dutch could never be brought to act heartily in the war. The allies were defeated at Val, near Maastricht, and the duke of Cumberland was in danger of being made prisoner. Bergen-op-zoom was taken in a manner that has never yet been accounted for. The allies suffered other disgraces on the continent; and it now became the general opinion in England, that peace was necessary to save the duke and his army from total destruction. By this time, however, the French marine and commerce were in danger of being annihilated by the English at sea, under the command of the admirals Anson, Warren, Hawke, and other gallant officers; but the English arms were not so successful as could have been wished, under rear admiral Boscawen, in the East Indies. In this state of affairs, the successes of the French and English, during the war, may be said to have been balanced, and both ministries turned their thoughts to peace. The question is not yet decided which party had greatest reason to desire it, the French and Spaniards for the great losses they had sustained

tained by sea, or the allies for the disgraces they had suffered by land. However this might be, A. D. 1748. preliminaries for peace were signed, and a definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle; the basis of which was the restitution, on both sides, of all places taken during the war.

His royal highness Frederic prince of Wales died, universally lamented, in the beginning of the year 1750. Next year an act passed for regulating the commencement of the year, by which the old style was abolished, and the new style established, to the great conveniency of the subjects. This was done by sinking eleven days in September, 1752, and from that time, beginning the year from the first of January. In 1753, the famous act passed for preventing clandestine marriages; but whether it is for the benefit of the subject, is a point that is still very questionable. The people of England about this time sustained an immense loss by the death of Mr. Pelham, who was one of the honestest, wisest, and best ministers England had ever seen.

The French having landed 11,000 men in Minorca, in order to attack fort St. Philip, admiral Byng, who had been sent out with a squadron at least equal to that of the French, was baffled, if not defeated, by their admiral Galissoniere, and at last Minorca was surrendered by Blakeney. The English were far more alarmed than they ought to have been at this event. The loss of Minorca was more shameful than detrimental to the kingdom; but the public outcry was such, that the king gave up Byng to public justice. Upon his arrival in England he was committed to close custody, in Greenwich hospital, and some arts were used to inflame the populace against him, who generally want no incentives to injure and condemn their superiors. Several addresses were sent up from different counties, demanding justice on the delinquent, which the ministry were willing to second. He was soon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a trial which continued several days, his judges were agreed that he had not done his utmost during the engagement to destroy the enemy, and therefore they adjudged him to suffer death by the twelfth article of war. At the same time, however, they recommended him as an object of mercy, as they considered his conduct rather as the effect of error than of cowardice. By this sentence they expected to satisfy at once the resentment of the nation, and yet screen themselves from conscious severity. The government was resolved upon shewing him no mercy; the parliament was applied to in his favour, but they found no circumstances in his conduct that could invalidate the former sentence. Being thus abandoned

to his fate, he maintained to the last a degree of fortitude and serenity that no way betrayed any timidity or cowardice. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board a man of war in the harbour of Portsmouth, he advanced from the cabin, where he had been imprisoned, upon deck, the place appointed for him to suffer. After delivering a paper, containing the strongest assertions of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for some time persisted in not covering his face; but his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers who were to shoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief; and then giving the signal for the soldiers to fire, he was killed instantaneously. There appears some severity in Byng's punishment; but it certainly produced soon after very beneficial effects to the nation.

It was about this time, that Mr. Pitt was placed, as secretary of state, at the head of administration. He had long been known to be a bold, eloquent, and energetic speaker, and he soon proved himself to be as spirited a minister. The miscarriages in the Mediterranean had no consequence but the loss of fort St. Philip, which was more than repaired by the vast success of the English privateers, both in Europe and America. The successes of the English in the East Indies, under colonel Clive, were almost incredible. He defeated Suraja Dowla, nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, and placed Jaffier Ally Cawn in the ancient seat of the nabobs of those provinces. Suraja Dowla, who was in the French interest, a few days after his being defeated, was taken by the new nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn's son, and put to death. This event laid the foundation of the present amazing extent of riches and territory, which the English now possess in the East Indies.

Mr. Pitt introduced into the cabinet a new system of operations against France, than which nothing could be better calculated to restore the spirits of his countrymen, and to alarm their enemies. Far from dreading an invasion, he planned an expedition for carrying the arms of England into France itself; and the descent was to be made at Rochefort, under general sir John Mordaunt, who was to command the land troops. Nothing could be more promising than the dispositions for this expedition. It sailed on the eighth of September, 1757; and admiral Hawke brought both the sea and land forces back on the sixth of October to St. Helen's, without the general making any attempt to land on the coast of France. He was tried and acquitted free of the public murmuring: so great an opinion had the people of the minister; who,

who, to do him justice, did not suffer a man or a ship belonging to the English army or navy to lie idle.

The French having attacked the electorate of Hanover with a most powerful army, merely because his Britannic majesty refused to wink at their encroachments in America, the English parliament, in gratitude, voted large supplies of men and money in defence of the electoral dominions. George the Second with the consent of his Prussian majesty, declaring that the French had violated the convention concluded between them and the duke of Cumberland at Closterseven, ordered his Hanoverian subjects to resume their arms under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, a Prussian general, who instantly drove the French out of Hanover; and the duke of Marlborough, after the English had repeatedly insulted the French coast, by destroying their stores and shipping at St. Maloes and Cherburgh, marched into Germany, and joined prince Ferdinand with 12,000 British troops which were afterwards increased to 25,000. A war ensued, in the course of which the English every where performed wonders, and were every where victorious; but nothing decisive followed, and the enemy opened every campaign with advantage. Even the battle of Minden, the most glorious perhaps in the English annals, in which about seven thousand English defeated *eighty thousand* of the French regular troops in fair battle, contributed nothing to the conclusion of the war, or towards weakening the French in Germany. The English bore the expences of the war with cheerfulness, and applauded Mr. Pitt's administration, because their glorious successes in every part of the globe demonstrated that he was in earnest.

The year 1759 was introduced by the taking of the Island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, A D. 1759. by commodore Keppel. Three capital expeditions had been planned for this year in America, and all of them proved successful. One of them was against the French islands in the West Indies, where Guadaloupe was reduced. The second expedition was against Quebec, the capital of Canada. The command was given, by the minister's advice, to general Wolfe, a young officer of a truly military genius. Wolfe was opposed with far superior force by Montcalm the best and most successful general the French had. Though the situation of the country which Wolfe was to attack, and the works that the French threw up to prevent a descent of the English, were deemed impregnable, yet Montcalm never relaxed in his vigilance. Wolfe's courage and perseverance, however, surmounting incredible difficulties, he gained the heights of Abraham, near Quebec, where he fought and defeated the French army, but was himself killed, as was also

Montcalm. General Wolfe first received a shot in the wrist; but wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and encouraged his men to advance, without discovering the least discomposure. He next received a shot in his groin, which he also concealed. Even after the mortal bullet had pierced his breast, he suffered himself unwillingly to be carried between the ranks. Under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued; and when told that the French army was entirely routed, and fled on both sides, "Then," said he, "I am happy!"—and instantly expired, in a kind of patriotic transport, which seemed to diffuse over his darkening countenance, an air of exultation and triumph.

The death of this gallant officer was a national loss and universally lamented. Soldiers may be raised, officers will be formed by experience, but the loss of a genius in war is not easily repaired. By nature formed for military greatness, his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his comprehension surprisingly quick, clear, and extensive. His constitutional courage was not only uniform and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he possessed also that higher species of it, a strength, steadiness, and activity of mind, which no difficulties or dangers could deter. Generous, gentle, friendly, affable, and humane, he was the pattern of the officer, and the darling of the soldier. His sublime genius soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised in their full extent, by opportunities and action, and his judgment been fully ripened by age and experience, he would have rivalled the most celebrated heroes of antiquity*.

Montcalm, the French general, was not inferior to his antagonist in military talents. Though less fortunate in the last scene of his life, he had often been victorious; and he made the most judicious dispositions human prudence could suggest, both before the battle of Quebec and during the engagement. Nor were his dying words less remarkable than those of Wolfe. "I am glad of it!" said he, when informed his wound was mortal; and on being told he could survive only a few hours, he gallantly replied, "So much the better!—I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec †."

That event, as the illustrious Montcalm foresaw, was not distant. It happened about five days after. General Monckton, who was next in command to Wolfe, being wounded, the completion of the French defeat, and the glory of reducing Quebec, was reserved for brigadier general Townshend‡.

* Wynne.
Viscount Townshend.

† Knox's Campaigns.

‡ Afterwards lord

General Amherst, who was the first English general on command in America, conducted the third expedition. His orders were to reduce all Canada, and to join the army under general Wolfe on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. To the honour of the minister, Mr. Amherst, in this expedition, was so well provided with every thing that could make it successful, that there scarcely appeared any chance for its miscarriage; and thus the French empire in North America became subject to Great Britain.

The affairs of the French being now desperate, and their credit ruined, they resolved upon an attempt to retrieve all by an invasion of Great Britain. But, sir Edward Hawke having defeated the Brest fleet, commanded by admiral Conflans, off the island of Dumet, in the bay of Biscay, and having sunk, burnt, or taken several of their ships, they gave up all thoughts of their intended invasion.

Captain Thaurot, a French marine adventurer, who had, with three sloops of war alarmed the A. D. 1760. coast of Scotland, and actually made a descent at Carrickfergus in Ireland, was, on his return from thence, met, defeated, and killed by captain Elliot, the commodore of three ships inferior in force to the Frenchman's squadron. Every day's gazette added to the accounts of the successes of the English, and the utter ruin of the French finances, which that government did not blush publicly to avow. In short, Great Britain now reigned as sole mistress of the main, and succeeded in every measure that had been projected for her own safety and advantage. The war in Germany, however, continued still as undecisive as it was expensive, and many in England began to consider it now as foreign to the internal interests of Great Britain. The French again and again shewed dispositions for treating, and the charges of the war, which began now to amount to little less than eighteen millions sterling yearly, inclined the British ministry, to listen to their proposals. A negotiation was accordingly entered upon, which proved abortive, as did many other projects for accommodation.

On the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, the king died suddenly (from a rupture in the right ventricle of the heart), full of years and glory, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his reign, and was succeeded by his grandson, now George III. eldest son to the late prince of Wales. The memory of George II. is reprehensible on no head but his predilection for his electoral dominions. He never could separate an idea that there was any difference between them and his regal dominions: and he was some times ill enough advised to declare so much in his speeches to parliament. He
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was not very accessible to conversation, and therefore it was no wonder, that having left Germany after he had attained to man's estate, he still retained foreign notions both of men and things. In government he had no favourite, for he parted with sir Robert Walpole's administration with great indifference, and shewed very little concern at the subsequent revolutions among his servants. This quality may be deemed a virtue, as it contributed greatly to the internal quiet of his reign, and prevented the people from loading the king with the faults of his ministers. In his personal disposition he was passionate, but, placable, fearless of danger, fond of military parade, and enjoyed the memory of the campaigns in which he served when young. His affections, either public or private, were never known to interfere with the ordinary course of justice; and though his reign was distracted by party, the courts of justice were never better filled than under him. This was a point in which all factions were agreed.

C H A P. II.

George III—Resignation of Mr. Pitt—Duke of Newcastle—Lord Bute—Peace proclaimed—Mr. Wilkes—Stamp-act passed—Abolition of a barbarous practice—Captains Cooke and Phipps—Battle of Bunker's-hill—The Americans declare themselves a free People—General Burgoyne is defeated at Saratoga—John the Painter—Admirals Keppel and Palliser—Patriotism of Mr. Reed—Admiral Rodney—Dreadful Riots in London—Capture of Lord Cornwallis, which put an end to the American war—Skill and gallantry of General Elliot—Coalition—Mr. Pitt's plan for reducing the national debt—Mr. Hastings—Hundredth anniversary of the Revolution—Indisposition and happy recovery of the King—Nootka Sound.

KING George III. ascended the throne with great advantage. His being a native of England prejudiced the people in his favour; he was in the bloom of youth, in his person tall and comely, and at the time of his accession Great Britain was in the highest degree of reputation and prosperity, and the most salutary unanimity and harmony prevailed among the people.

As his majesty could not espouse a Roman Catholic he was precluded from intermarrying into any of the great families.

lies of Europe; he therefore chose a wife from the house of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, the head of a small but sovereign state in the north west of Germany; and the conduct of his excellent consort has hitherto been such as to give him no reason to repent of his choice.

The nuptials were celebrated on the eighth of September; and on the twenty-second of the A. D. 1761. same month the ceremony of the coronation was performed with great pomp and magnificence in Westminster-abbey.

Mr. Pitt, who, though never very acceptable to the late king, had conducted the war with a spirit and success that were never exceeded, and perhaps never equalled by any former minister, was no less distinguished for his sagacity and penetration in diving into the designs and intrigues of the enemy. He had for some time observed, with the highest indignation, the extreme partiality of the Spaniards towards the French, notwithstanding their professions of neutrality. He now discovered by means of his spies in foreign courts, that they had entered into a treaty (known by the name of the Family-compact) with that ambitious people; and he was firmly convinced, that it would not be long before they declared war in form against England. Moved by these considerations, he proposed, that a fleet should be immediately dispatched into the Mediterranean, to intercept the Spanish flota, or strike some other blow of importance, in case the ministry of Spain refused to give instant satisfaction to the court of Great Britain. He urged his reasons for this measure with his usual energy; asserting, that "this was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; and that if this opportunity was let slip, it might never be recovered." This proposal, however, was strongly opposed by the other members of the cabinet, either from a conviction of its impropriety, or perhaps in order to get rid of a minister, who by means of his popularity and the success of his schemes, had acquired an ascendancy in parliament and even in the council, that, in some measure, annihilated the hereditary influence of all the oldest, most wealthy, and most powerful families in the kingdom. In a word, it was disapproved by every member of the cabinet, Mr. Pitt and earl Temple excepted: upon which these two ministers resigned their places; the former as secretary of state, and the latter as lord privy-seal. That Mr. Pitt, however, might not be suffered to retire from the public service without some mark of royal as well as national gratitude, a pension of 3000*l.* a year was settled upon him for three lives; and at the same time a title was conferred upon his lady, who was created baroness Chatham. These advantages
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and honours had undoubtedly been well deserved by his public services; but his acceptance of them greatly lessened his popularity, and many certifies were employed to produce this effect. A very considerable degree of discontent, notwithstanding, prevailed in the nation, on account of his removal from power; and it was extremely natural, that the people should behold, with the utmost regret, the removal of a minister from the direction of public affairs, of whose ability and integrity they had the highest opinion, and in the midst of a war, which he had conducted with so much honour to himself and to his country, and in a manner that had excited the astonishment of Europe.

The experience of a few months served to show, that Mr. Pitt's suspicions were two well founded: for when the earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at Madrid, endeavoured to procure a sight of the family-compact, and to sound the sentiments of the Spanish ministry with regard to their intention of taking part with France in the present war, he received nothing but evasive answers or flat refusals to all his demands. He therefore left Madrid without taking leave; and as the hostile designs of Spain were now no longer doubtful, war was in a little time declared against that nation.

The old parliament was now dissolved, and a new one summoned. Till the resignation of Mr. Pitt, no material change had been made in the ministry during the present reign. It continued nearly the same as it was at the death of the late king, with this only difference, that lord Bute had been introduced into the cabinet, and appointed secretary of state in the room of the earl of Holderness. This nobleman, who had a considerable share in directing the education of the king, had no doubt acquired an ascendancy in the royal favour. A

more important alteration however, afterwards
 A. D. 1762. took place. An opinion had been long entertained, and at last it was industriously propagated by certain persons, that the Pelham family had been as complete masters of the cabinet during the latter years of king George the Second's reign, as ever the Marlborough family was during a great part of that of queen Anne. A resolution, it is said, was therefore taken to get rid of the Pelham's and all their connections. The duke of Newcastle was made so uneasy in his situation, that he resigned his post as first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by the earl of Bute. This gave occasion to a most furious paper war between the friends and adherents of these two noblemen, and naturally tended to revive in the kingdom that spirit of party, which, during the successful administration of Mr. Pitt, had in a great measure been laid asleep.

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The duke of Newcastle, it must be owned, was not a man of great abilities, though his brother, Henry Pelham, undoubtedly was. But even the duke, with all the defects in his character, was perhaps not ill qualified to be a popular minister in a free country. He was open, liberal, disinterested, hospitable, splendid and magnificent in his style of living. Instead of amassing places and pensions for himself and his family, he laid out, his own patrimony in supporting what he considered as the honour of the king and the dignity of the nation; and when, upon his retiring from office in somewhat narrow and reduced circumstances, he was offered a pension, he nobly replied, that after having spent a princely fortune in the service of his country rather than become a burden to it at last, he would make his old duchess a washer-woman.

Lord Bute, on the other hand, was certainly a man of ability, as well as virtue; but perhaps he was deficient in that easiness of address and those engaging manners, without which no minister can ever expect to be long popular in England. As he was a man of taste and learning, had he continued groom of the stole, as he was at the time of his majesty's accession, he might easily have passed for the Mæcenas of the age. Every favour which the king might have bestowed upon men of letters, would have been considered as originating from his advice, and owing to his recommendation; whereas by plunging into politics, for which, as he was not bred to them, perhaps he was but ill qualified, he at once destroyed the peace of his own mind, diminished for a while the popularity of his sovereign, and distracted and perplexed the councils of his country.

The war, however, was still carried on with the same spirit and success as formerly. A large body, whether of a political or mechanical nature, when once put in motion, will continue to move for some time, even after the power which originally set it a going has ceased to operate. Two expeditions were undertaken against the Spanish settlements; the one against the Havannah in the gulph of Mexico, the other against Manila in the East Indies: and both of them proved successful. The plunder found in the first amounted to three millions sterling, which passed in triumph through Westminster to the Bank, the very hour the prince of Wales was born. Conferences for a peace, being now opened at Paris, the enemy at last offered such terms as the British ministry thought admissible and adequate to the occasion, and it was finally concluded on the tenth day of February. On the eighteenth, the treaty was laid before the parliament, when it met the approbation of the major-

A. D. 1763.

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rity of both houses; and on the twenty-second, the peace was solemnly proclaimed at Westminster and London.

The cry of favouritism, which was raised against lord Bute immediately upon his introduction into the ministry, had hitherto been kept up with great violence and animosity; and a tax, which had lately been imposed on cyder, served at last to complete his downfall. He resigned his place as first lord of the treasury in the month of April, and was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville. The attention of the public was now turned from the war of the sword to that of the pen. Many furious papers and pamphlets were published by the partizans of both parties. But one of the most furious of the whole was a periodical paper, entitled the North Briton, conducted, it is said, and principally composed by Mr. Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, a man of wit and spirit, but not of the most rigid principles. In the 45th number, the king's speech to the parliament was attacked with so indecent a freedom, that the ministers thought they could not pass it over in silence. A general warrant was, therefore, issued for taking up the authors, printers, and publisher of that paper. Mr. Wilkes was seized and committed to the Tower. Several innocent printers, were at the same time apprehended; but they afterwards brought their actions against the messengers who had seized them, and recovered considerable damages. A writ of *habeas corpus* being procured by his friends, Mr. Wilkes was brought up to the court of Common Pleas, and the matter being there argued, he was ordered to be discharged. This affair made a great noise; people of all ranks interested themselves in it, and Westminster-hall resounded with acclamations when he was set at liberty. An information, however, was filed against him in the court of King's Bench, at his majesty's suit, as author of the North Britain, No 45. On the first day of the meeting of parliament, after these transactions, Mr. Wilkes stood up in his place, and made a speech, in which he complained to the house, that in his person the rights of all the commons of England, and privileges of parliament, had been violated by his imprisonment, the plundering of his house, and the seizure of his papers. The same day, a message was sent to acquaint the house of commons, with the informations his majesty had received, that John Wilkes, esquire, and another member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, and the measures, that had been taken thereupon. The next day a duel was fought in Hyde-park between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Martin, another member of parliament, and secretary of the treasury, in which Mr. Wilkes received a dangerous wound in the belly with a pistol-

tol-bullet. Both houses of parliament soon concurred in voting the North Briton, No 45, to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. This order was accordingly executed, though not without opposition from the populace; and Mr. Harley, one of the sheriffs who attended was wounded, and obliged to take shelter in the Mansion house. Another prosecution was commenced against Mr. Wilkes, for having caused an obscene and profane poem to be printed intitled, "An Essay on Woman." Of this, only twelve copies had been privately printed: and it did not appear to have been intended for publication. Finding, however, that he should continue to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour, when his wound was in some degree healed, he thought proper to quit the kingdom. He was soon after expelled the house of commons; verdicts were also given against him, both on account of the North Briton and the Essay on Woman, and towards the end of the year 1764 he was outlawed. Sundry other persons had been taken up for being concerned in printing and publishing the North Briton; but some of them obtained verdicts against the king's messengers for false imprisonment.

Under Mr. Grenville's administration an act was passed, said to have been framed by him, which was productive of the most pernicious consequences to Great Britain; "An act for laying a *stamp-duty* in the British colonies of North America," which received the royal assent on the twenty-second of March. As soon as it was A. D. 1765. known in North America that the *stamp-act* was passed, the whole continent was kindled into a flame. As the Americans had hitherto been taxed by their own representatives in their provincial assemblies, they loudly asserted that the British parliament, in which they were not represented, had no right to tax them. The same doctrine had been maintained in the British parliament, when the stamp-act was under consideration: and though it was repealed in the succeeding session, yet the memory of it continued to rankle in the minds of the colonists; and they seem never entirely to have forgotten, nor heartily to have forgiven it.

The spirit of party which was now so general as well as violent, was attended with one very great inconvenience. It was productive of such a mutability in public men, and consequently in public measures and councils, that we had a new ministry and new measures almost with every new year. This naturally tended to weaken the authority of government both at home and abroad. Foreign nations were averse to enter into any close connection or alliance with a people, whose public councils were so very fluctuating; and the inferior
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ranks of men at home lost all that reverence and respect for their rulers which is so necessary for the support of order and good government. The Grenville administration was now forced to make way for that of the marquis of Rockingham, who was appointed first lord of the treasury in the room of Mr. Grenville. The marquis himself, was indeed, a nobleman of as much purity of intention, of as disinterested principles, and of as genuine and unaffected patriotism as ever distinguished any minister either in ancient or modern times; and by these good qualities of the heart, he in some measure compensated for that mediocrity of understanding, beyond which his warmest admirers never alledged that his capacity extended. The chief business of this ministry was to undo all that their predecessors had done, particularly repealing the stamp and cyder acts; as on the other hand all that they now did, was in its turn, undone by their successors in office. His majesty's uncle, the late duke of Cumberland, and his youngest brother, prince William Frederic, died this year; as also the old Pretender, at Rome, in the seventh-seventh year of his age.

The new year, as usual, gave us a new set of ministers. A. D. 1766. The duke of Grafton succeeded the marquis of Rockingham as first lord of the treasury; several other changes were made in the inferior departments of state, and the custody of the privy seal was bestowed upon Mr. Pitt, now created earl of Chatham, at whose recommendation it is said this ministry was formed. This political arrangement was not of any long continuance, and sundry changes followed. Mr. Charles Townshend, who was a gentleman of great abilities and eloquence, made for some time a considerable figure both in the cabinet and in parliament; but on his death the place of chancellor of the Exchequer was supplied by lord North, who afterwards became first lord of the treasury, and obtained a great ascendancy in the administration.

Mr. Wilkes, who had for a considerable time A. D. 1768. resided in France, came over to England, and again became an object of public attention. Verdicts were found against him on account of the North Briton, and for the indecent poem, "Essay on Woman." He suffered a long imprisonment of two years and paid two fines of 500l. each. He displayed great abilities during the contests of the ministry, and was chosen member for the county of Middlesex. After being again expelled A. D. 1771. and imprisoned, he was chosen one of the sheriffs for London and Middlesex. In the subsequent parliament, he was elected member for the county of Middle-

sex, and permitted quietly to take his seat. In the year 1775, he executed the office of lord mayor of the city of London, and hath since been elected to the lucrative office of chamberlain of that city. In the year 1783, after the change of lord North's administration, at Mr. Wilkes's motion, all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of the house of commons respecting his election for the county of Middlesex, were ordered to be expunged from the journals of that house, "as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom." And it should be remembered, that in consequence of his manly and spirited contests with the government, general warrants were declared to be illegal, and an end was put to such warrants, and to the unlawful seizure of an Englishman's papers by state messengers.

Elective kingdoms are subject to such violent shocks and convulsions, upon every vacancy of the throne, that it has been thought proper, in most of the modern states of Europe, to establish hereditary monarchies; and even in these last, a disputed title is always attended with such civil wars and bloodshed, that it has been found expedient to keep the line of succession as clear and distinct as possible. This is the reason why so much attention is given in this country to the marriages of the royal family. The king's two brothers, the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, having married privately; the former, the countess dowager of Waldegrave, the latter, a widow lady of the A. D. 1772. name of Horton, daughter to lord Irnham, a bill was now passed, enacting that all the descendants of his late majesty (other than the issue of princesses who have married, or may hereafter marry into foreign families) shall be incapable of contracting marriage without the previous consent of the king, or his successors on the throne, signified under the great seal, and declared in council; that every such marriage, without such consent shall be null and void, that, nevertheless, such descendants, being above the age of twenty-five years, upon their giving the privy council twelve months previous notice of their design, may, after the expiration of that term, enter into marriage without the royal consent, unless both houses of parliament shall within that time expressly declare their disapprobation of it; and that all persons, who shall knowingly presume to solemnize, or assist at the celebration of such illicit marriage, shall be liable to all the pains and penalties of the statute of præmunire.

In the course of this session a material alteration was made in the criminal law of the kingdom. Formerly, when a felon refused to plead, he was stretched out upon his back at full length, and a heavy weight laid upon his breast, which was

gradually though slowly, increased till he expired; during which operation he was fed with nothing but a crust of bread and some dirty water. By a bill, which was now passed, this barbarous practice was abolished, and all felons refusing to plead are adjudged to be guilty of the crimes laid to their charge.

This year captain Phipps in the *Sea-horse*, A. D. 1773. and captain Lutwidge in the *Carcase*, were sent out by the government, in order to examine whether there was a possibility of discovering either a north-east or a north-west passage to the East Indies; but after sailing to the latitude of eighty-one degrees, thirty-nine minutes, they were prevented by the mountains, or rather the islands of ice they met with, from proceeding any farther, and they therefore returned home without being able to accomplish their purpose.

This reign, indeed, seems, for some years past, to have been particularly distinguished by the spirit of adventure. Four different voyages have been performed round the world, for the similar purpose of making discoveries in the South-sea: the first, by commodore Byron, the second, by captain Wallis; the third, by captain Carteret; and the fourth, by captain Cook; and none of them have entirely failed in the object of their destination; each of the circumnavigators have either found out some new countries, or something new in the manners of those that were already known. Captain Cook, indeed, performed a second voyage round the world; and was actually engaged in sailing round it a third time, when, to the infinite regret of all lovers of real merit, he was cut off in a scuffle with the inhabitants of one of the new-discovered islands in the South-sea, called O-why-hee.

In the mean time, other occurrences happened relative to America, which produced consequences highly injurious to the interests of Great Britain. The great subject of dispute between the mother country and her American colonies, was the right of taxation. The parliament of Great Britain insisted upon its right of taxing them by its own proper authority. The colonies denied this right, and said that they could not be legally taxed without their own consent; and rather than submit to any taxes otherwise imposed, they seemed willing to encounter every danger, and to risk every extremity. In order, however, to try their temper, and see whether they would put their threats in practice, some tea was sent out to America, loaded with a certain duty. This tea was not only not suffered to be landed, but was sent back to England with the utmost contempt and indignation. In the harbour of Boston it met with a still worse reception. It was taken out of the ships

ships by the populace, and thrown into the sea. To punish the New-Englanders for this act of violence, two bills were now past; one for shutting up A. D. 1774. the port of Boston; and the other, for taking the executive power out of the hands of the people and vesting it in the crown. Though the minister had hitherto carried every thing in parliament with a high hand, yet as that assembly was now drawing towards an end, he began to be apprehensive that it would not be easy to procure another house of commons equally obsequious, if the people were allowed to be prepared for the elections in the usual manner. He therefore resolved to steal a march upon his antagonists, and to take the people by surprise. The parliament accordingly was suddenly dissolved at the end of the sixth session, and a new one was chosen equally courtly and complaisant with the former.

The acts of severity, we have mentioned above, were levelled in appearance only at the town of Boston; yet most of the other colonies soon took the alarm. They thought they saw, in the fate of that devoted town, the punishment that might soon be inflicted on themselves, as they had all been guilty of nearly the same crime, if not in destroying, at least in refusing the tea. They, therefore, resolved to make one common cause with the people of New England; and accordingly all the old British colonies, (Nova Scotia and Georgia excepted) sent delegates or commissioners to a general assembly, which met at Philadelphia, and assuming the name of the congress presented a bold and spirited remonstrance to his majesty, soliciting a redress of grievances. Georgia, the year following, acceded to the union, and thus completed the number of the thirteen united provinces, which soon after revolted from the mother-country, and at last rendered themselves sovereign and independent states.

The first action happened in America between the king's troops and the provincials at A. D. 1775. Lexington, on the 19th of April. On the 17th of June there was a bloody action, on an eminence called Bunkers hill, in the neighbourhood of Boston, when the provincials were defeated, and compelled to withdraw to the continent. This advantage, however, was not gained without the loss of many men. The number of officers that fell in this action, compared to that of the private men, was greatly beyond the usual proportion; and this is said to have been owing to the following circumstance. The Americans had trained, and employed on this occasion, a certain set of soldiers, called marksmen or riflemen, who excelled all others in taking a sure and steady aim. They had likewise furnished them

them with a new kind of musketts, called rifle-barrelled guns, which not only carried the ball to a greater distance, but sent it in a more strait and direct line than the common firelocks. Thus our officers were marked out and dispatched by these riflemen with almost as fatal a certainty as a bird is shot by a fowler when perched upon a tree.

The congress soon after declared the American colonies, "Free and Independent States;" A. D. 1776. that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and, that all political connection between them and the kingdom of Great Britain was totally dissolved; and also that as free and independent states, they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things, which independent states may of right do. They likewise published articles of confederation and perpetual union between the united colonies, in which they assumed the title of "The United States of America," and by which each of the colonies contracted a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that might threaten all or any of them, and to repel, in common, all the attacks that might be levelled against all, or any one of them on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever. Each of the colonies reserved to themselves alone the exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws in all matters not included in the articles of confederation.

General Burgoyne, who commanded an army A. D. 1777. in Canada of about ten thousand men, including some Indians, resolved with this body to make an impression upon the province of New England. He crossed the lakes George and Champlain without opposition. He even reduced the fort of Ticonderago. But, upon his arrival at Saratoga, he was suddenly surrounded and attacked by a superior body of New Englanders, under the generals Gates and Arnold, and after fighting them two different times with great bravery though with great loss, his camp was at last stormed, and he and his men were obliged to submit to a capitulation; importing, that they should lay down their arms, and be conducted to Boston, from whence they should be allowed to embark for Great Britain, upon condition of their not serving again in America during the present war.

Civil wars are always attended with a spirit of enthusiasm, which frequently carries men to the commission of crimes, the bare thoughts of which, in their cooler moments, would fill them

them with horror. It was no doubt under the influence of this spirit, that one James Aitken, commonly known by the name of John the Painter, set fire to the rope house at Portsmouth, and to a street called Quay-lane, in Bristol. He is even said to have formed a plan of burning all the principal towns in the island together with their docks and shipping. But before he would carry any more of his hellish designs into execution, he was seized, tried, condemned, executed, and hung in chains.

What had long been foreseen by almost every sensible and unprejudiced man in the kingdom, A. D. 1778. and repeatedly foretold by the opposition in parliament, now came to pass. The French threw off the mask they had hitherto worn, and openly declared in favour of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as sovereign and independent states. General Clinton, who had succeeded general Howe in the command of the army, now evacuated Philadelphia, and retreated to new York, in his march to which he was attacked by general Washington, but no great loss was sustained on either side. In this action indeed, general Lee was accused of not having acted with his usual alacrity in attacking the British troops, and being found guilty, was suspended for a year.

Though war had not been formally declared between Great Britain and France, yet there could be no doubt but that these rival nations were in a state of actual hostility. Fleets were accordingly fitted out on both sides. D'Orvilliers commanded the French squadron; admiral Keppel conducted the English. The fleets met on the twentieth-seventh of July, when a running fight took place, but no decisive action. Admiral Keppel was afterwards accused of not having done his duty, by admiral Palliser the second in command. He was therefore tried but honourably acquitted. Palliser himself was likewise tried for disobedience of orders, and was partly acquitted and partly condemned.

In the course of this year died the celebrated earl of Chatham, one of the greatest orators, as well as one of the ablest and most successful ministers that this country ever produced. As some mark of national gratitude for the many eminent services he had performed to his country, the sum of twenty thousand pounds was now granted by parliament for discharging his debts, an annuity of four thousand was settled upon his son and successor, and upon all the heirs of his body that shall inherit the earldom of Chatham; his remains were interred with great funeral pomp in Westminster Abbey; and a monument was ordered to be created to his memory at the public expence.

This year a bold adventurer of the name of Paul Jones kept all the western coast of the island in alarm, A. D. 1779. He landed at Whitehaven, where he burned a ship in the harbour, and even attempted to burn the town. He afterwards landed in Scotland, and plundered the house of the earl of Selkirk. He some time after fought a bloody battle with captain Pearson of the *Serapis*, whom he compelled to submit; and so shattered was his own ship in the engagement, that he had no sooner quitted her, in order to take possession of his prize, than she went to the bottom. Captain Farmer, too, of the *Quebec*, fought a no less desperate battle with a French ship of greatly superior force. He continued the engagement with unremitted fury, till his own ship, accidentally taking fire, was blown into the air, together with himself and most of his crew.

A fresh attempt was made this year to compromise all differences with the American colonies in an amicable manner; and for this purpose three commissioners were sent out to that part of the world, viz. The earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone; but it was plain to every man of common sense, that after the sword had been used so long, it was in vain to think of settling the dispute with a few strokes of the pen. This negotiation, however, we chiefly mention for the sake of a noble and high spirited answer, that was given by Mr. Reed, an American general, to one of the commissioners, who had offered him the sum of ten thousand pounds, and any office in his majesty's gift in the colonies, provided he would use his influence in bringing about an accommodation. This offer Mr. Reed considered as an attempt to bribe him; and he therefore replied—"I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not so rich enough to do it." Times of civil war and commotion, as they some times give rise to the most shocking vices, produce likewise, upon particular occasions, the most exalted virtues, the purest patriotism, the greatest elevation of mind, and the most steady and incorruptible principles. It has been laid down as a maxim by some unprincipled politicians, who judge of all mankind by themselves, that every man has his price; but here is a man who plainly appears to be above all price.

The king of Spain now followed the example of the French monarch in acknowledging the independence of the American colonies; and the fleets of these two great powers being joined together, rendered them more than a match for that of Great Britain. A man, however, started A. D. 1780. up from the depth of obscurity, in which he had for some time been buried by debts and difficulties,

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ies, to carry the honour of the British flag, to a higher pitch than it had lately attained. This was admiral Rodney, who being entrusted with the command of a squadron, set sail for Gibraltar, and in his way thither, first took a rich convoy of Spanish merchantmen; afterwards defeated a fleet of Spanish men of war, taking the admiral Don Langara's ship, and three other ships of the line; a few months after he fought a most obstinate battle with a superior French fleet under the count de Guichen in the West Indies; and to mention all his gallant actions at once, in 1782 he obtained a most glorious victory in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, over another French fleet commanded by the count de Grasse, taking the admiral's own ship, the *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns, and several others. For these heroic achievements he was raised to the peerage, which he seems, indeed, to have justly deserved.

The principal events that happened in America this year were the reduction of Charles Town, South Carolina, by sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot; the defeat of general Gates by lord Cornwallis; the execution of major Andrée, adjutant-general to the British forces, who was taken in disguise within the American lines, and condemned as a spy; and the desertion of general Arnold from the American cause, and his joining the British army.

Our more immediate domestic occurrences were of a most shocking and disgraceful nature. In consequence of some indulgences now granted by the parliament to Roman Catholics, a riotous and licentious mob assembled in St. George's Fields, in order to petition the two houses against these marks of lenity; soon after which they proceeded to commit the most terrible devastations. They destroyed all the Romish chapels in and about town; they burnt the prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, and King's Bench, together with the houses of many private persons; and they were even going to make an attack upon the Bank, when they were happily opposed by a body of citizens, who had learned the military discipline, and called themselves the London Association, as well as by the regular troops who were now called in; and these two together soon suppressed the riot, though not till they had killed, or mortally wounded, about two hundred and twenty of the ringleaders. Lord George Gordon was afterwards tried for having collected this assembly; but as it appeared that he was actuated merely by religious prejudices; and had never encouraged the mob to commit, nor even expected they would commit, any outrage, he was acquitted.

The events of 1781 were neither numerous nor important; yet some things worthy of notice happened in most quarters of the globe.

A. D. 1781.

Having engaged in a war with the Dutch, whom we discovered to be no friends to us in the American contest, we took from them the island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies; but it was soon after retaken by the French. A desperate engagement happened off the Dogger Bank between a small squadron of English ships under admiral Hyde Parker, and a like squadron of Dutch ships under admiral Zoutman. The action was maintained for three hours and forty minutes with equal gallantry on both sides, and at last ended in a drawn battle.

In America, some petty skirmishes happened by land, and some trifling encounters by sea, in some of which we failed, and in others succeeded. But at last earl Cornwallis, our second in command, got himself into a situation in Virginia, from which no military skill or generalship could possibly deliver him; and he was therefore obliged to surrender himself and his whole army prisoners of war to the united armies of America and France, under the command of general Washington. This was the second British army that had been captured in America, and might have served to convince our ministers, if any thing could have convinced them, of the extreme difficulty, if not utter impossibility, of carrying on a successful war in so remote and extensive a continent, where the enemy, as natives, were so much better acquainted with the face of the country, and consequently possessed such infinite advantages over us.

Though the capture of lord Cornwallis did A. D. 1782. not put an actual, yet it may be said to have put a virtual, end to the war in America. All hopes of conquering it were from that moment abandoned as vain and chimerical; and every military operation that was afterwards carried on, was not so much with a view of subjugating the colonies, as to maintain the honour of the British arms. The object of the war, therefore, being now fairly given up as altogether unattainable, the minds of men in general were set upon a peace. But as peace could not be decently concluded by that ministry which had so long and obstinately carried on the war, there was an absolute necessity for a new ministry. The old ministry therefore was dismissed, and a new one appointed in its room. The marquis of Rockingham was made first lord of the treasury; lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox and lord Shelburne, secretaries of state; the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; and general Conway, commander in chief of the army. In a word, there was hardly a single member of the late ministry, who retained his place in the present,

present, except the chancellor, lord Thurlow; and he is said to have had a capital hand in bringing about the change.

Ever since the commencement of hostilities with Spain, the fortress of Gibraltar had been closely invested by the troops of that nation; but all their attempts had been rendered ineffectual by the admirable skill and gallantry of the governor, general Elliot. He commonly suffered the enemy to finish their works before he attacked them; and then in the space of a few hours, he either set them on fire or levelled them on the ground. In their last attempt upon the place, they attacked it with a number of gun boats, that are said to have been bomb-proof; but these he likewise contrived to set on fire by firing red hot balls into them. The Spaniards however though they failed in this attempt, succeeded in two others. They took from us the island of Minorca, and the province of West Florida.

The ministry were proceeding diligently with the work of peace, negociations for which were opened at Paris, when they suddenly, and unhappily for the nation, fell in pieces by the death of their leader the marquis of Rockingham. He was succeeded by the earl of Shelburne; and this gave so much disgust to some of the principal members of administration, that Mr. Fox, lord John Cavendish, Mr. Burke paymaster of the forces, and several other gentlemen resigned their places. The new ministry, however, for such it may be called, were as zealous for a peace as the old one, and they accordingly proceeded to settle the terms of it in the best manner they could; but before they could complete the work of a general pacification, they were obliged to give way to the superior parliamentary interest of Mr. Fox and lord North, who formed the *famous coalition*, A. D. 1783. and though formerly so different in their political sentiments, now came into power as friends and co-adjustors. Thus Mr. Fox had the satisfaction of finishing the peace which he had begun under the marquis of Rockingham; and lord North had the mortification of being compelled to acknowledge the independence of those colonies which he had long flattered himself, his sovereign, and the nation, with the hopes of being able to conquer.

The peace being concluded, the next object that engaged the attention of the ministry was the state of our affairs in the East Indies. Whether Mr. Fox's bill (as it is usually called) for regulating these affairs was not rather too violent, we will not take upon us to determine. But surely, if ever there was a wound in the body politic that required the probing knife of a bold state-surgeon, it is the management of our affairs in the East Indies, which has long exhibited scenes of cruelty, rapacity

rapacity and oppression, that perhaps are unequalled in the annals of mankind. This bill, however, excited such a ferment in the nation, as when aided by the arts and outcries of the numerous friends and dependents of the East India Company, effectually served to overthrow the ministry; and they

therefore in their turn were obliged to make room
A. D. 1784. not indeed for the return of lord Shelburne (for he did not chuse to appear) but, in all probability for such as he thought proper to recommend. On the eighth of March, Mr. Fox made his last effort, and moved for an address, or rather *remonstrance*, the strongest presented to any king since the unhappy days of Charles the First.

This representation and address of the commons to the crown, was carried but by a majority of *one*, 191 to 190, which as it required no answer, so it put an end to the dispute between the different branches of the legislature. The coalition party gave up the contest, and looked forward to a speedy dissolution of the house. The national business went on regularly and quietly. The necessary bills were forwarded in both houses, and on the 24th of March an end was put to the session. The next day a proclamation was issued for dissolving the parliament and calling a new one, agreeable to the desires and addresses of a great part of the kingdom. Just at that critical period, the great seal was stolen from the house of the lord chancellor, which occasioned many suspicions as if done by more than ordinary felons: but nothing farther appeared, and a new seal was presently made. On the 18th of May the new parliament assembled, and the commons chose Mr. Cornwall, the speaker of the late house, for their speaker. The next day, his majesty addressed them from the throne. A very feeble opposition was made to the address of thanks in the house of lords, and it soon appeared that the appeal to the people had turned out greatly in Mr. Pitt's favour. Many, whom lord North had bound to him by his *douceurs* when in power, were thrown out: and others deserted him, finding his vast influence was at an end. Several of Mr. Fox's friends also lost their seats; and, in the two first contests, it was plain that the coalition could do little more than speak. Their views were disappointed in turning out the peace-makers and seating themselves in their room; their forces melted away, and the young minister obtained a complete triumph over them. He soon after brought in his famous East India bill; but time alone can discover whether it be framed with wisdom, and adequate to the great purposes intended, and held forth to view.

The business of parliamentary reform appears
A. D. 1785. to have been taken up by Mr. Pitt as a ministerial measure, and to have received from him a
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considerable share of attention; he accordingly introduced a specific plan for that purpose, which he prefaced by a history of parliamentary representation from a very remote period. The plan was to give one hundred members to the popular interest of the kingdom, and to extend the right of election to above one hundred thousand persons, who, by the existing provisions of law, were excluded from it. This accession to the popular interest was to be principally obtained by the suppression of decayed boroughs, and the transfer of their representatives to the counties; so that the number of the house of commons would remain the same. After a debate of considerable length it was rejected by a majority of seventy-four; the noes being 248, and the ayes 174.

Amongst the variety of new taxes imposed in this session, that called the shop-tax received the strongest opposition; and by the persevering applications of those who were particularly aggrieved, its repeal was at length obtained.

In consequence of severe prohibitions having been laid on the importation of British manufactures into the Austrian dominions, and several restrictions on their introduction into France, the minister opened a negotiation with the latter kingdom, for a more liberal commercial intercourse between the two countries, and appointed Mr. Eden * envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary for that purpose. A treaty was accordingly concluded and ratified by both houses of parliament. This was a measure of great political consequence, as it tended to break asunder the national prejudices, which had existed for many ages between the two countries.

Amongst the various measures now agitated, in parliament, the plan for establishing a sinking fund, - A. D. 1786. and employing a million annually for reducing the national debt, engaged their most immediate attention. This million is produced by the yearly income of the state exceeding the permanent level of its expenditure by a sum of 900,000*l.* which may be increased to a million by means in no wise burthensome to the people. This measure, which had the concurrence of every man, who desired the emancipation of the state from the accumulated load of debts and taxes, was carried into a law, which created commissioners for carrying the purposes of this valuable act into execution.

We come now to a very important transaction of the present times, the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor general of Bengal. The characters both of the accusers and of the person accused were such as to give dignity and interest to the scope of the business; Mr. Burke being a man of the most original genius, of the most cultivated

* Lord Auckland.

talents, and the most unwearied application; and Mr. Hastings, on the other hand, a man of strong imagination, of boundless spirit, and enterprize, and of extensive observation. On the 17th of February, Mr. Burke explained, in some degree, the mode of proceeding he was desirous to adopt; and in the course of the session moved for a multitude of papers to ground and substantiate his charges upon. These were at length produced, and Mr. Hastings heard at the bar of the house of commons in his defence. The debates which arose on the subject terminated in resolutions, that certain of the charges contained matter of impeachment against the late governor general of Bengal.

The feeble attempt of an obscure and contemptible maniac, of the name of Margaret Nicholson, against the life of the sovereign, in the face of day, and in the sight of a multitude of spectators, on the 2nd of August, was productive of no other effect than to shew how much he was beloved by his subjects. The general exultation which prevailed after that event, reflected honour on the people as well as the king.

The year 1788, being the hundredth anniversary of the glorious revolution in 1688, the 4th of November being the birth-day of king William, the instrument under Providence who completed that event, and the fifth of this month being the anniversary of his landing, were observed by many societies in London, and other parts of the kingdom, not only with festivity, but with devotion. At Edinburgh this day was observed as a day of solemn thanksgiving, as directed by an act of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland passed on the 30th of May in this year; and by this act all the ministers of that national church were enjoined to observe the same. By the publication of this act nearly six months before the annual return of the day, that assembly had the honour to take the lead, in their resolution to celebrate this glorious event; and it ought to be mentioned, to the honour of that high-spirited and noble-minded people, that the principles of the revolution are well understood and warmly embraced by them.

It is not easy to imagine or to parallel, in the history of the present century, a period of more perfect security than that which England presented in the autumn of 1788. The king, accompanied by the queen, and surrounded by his family, after having tried the effects of a relaxation from public business, and of the medicinal waters of Cheltenham, had returned to Windsor; not, indeed, in a state of vigorous health, but by no means in any such declining state of indisposition as to excite alarm among his subjects. The prince of Wales,

Wales, as usual, passed the summer at his marine pavilion at Brighthelmstone; Mr. Pitt, occupied in the functions of his station, was detained in the vicinity of the capital; while Mr. Fox, whose faculties of body and mind had been not a little exercised and exhausted, by a toilsome attendance in Covent-garden, during the extreme heats of August, which was thought requisite to secure the election of lord John Townsend as member for Westminster, indulged a degree of necessary repose, and withdrew for a short time from the hurry of political life. He quitted England, and repaired to Switzerland and Italy, as a scene calculated to amuse and entertain, while it restored and invigorated a constitution impaired by constant exertion. The great leaders of ministry and opposition, having laid aside their political animosities, were dispersed in peaceful inactivity over every part of the kingdom. From this state of public recreation and felicity, the nation was rudely and suddenly awoken, by the reports of his majesty being attacked with an unexpected and dangerous illness. The precise nature of it was for several days unascertained and unexplained, even to those whose residence near the court should have enabled them to obtain early and authentic information. Meanwhile fame augmented the evil, and the death of the sovereign was believed to have either already taken place, or to be imminent and inevitable.

The grief and distraction which were manifested in every part of the island, on the publication of this calamitous event, can be only compared with that of the Roman people, on the news of Germanicus being seized with mortal symptoms at Antioch; as the distressful situation of the queen bore some resemblance to that of Agrippina. "*Passum silentia et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quanquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius animis mœrebant.*" Time, however, gradually divulged the truth, and changed the apprehensions of the nation for the situation of the king. His disorder was understood to have fallen upon the brain, and to have produced, as might be expected, a temporary privation of reason. As the cause of this alienation of mind was extraneous and violent, it might be hoped that it could only be of short duration: but the issue was uncertain, while the suspension of all government, and of every function attached to the kingly dignity, was immediate and indisputable. A species of interregnum, in fact, took place; though unaccompanied by any of those circumstances which usually characterize and accompany that unfortunate state. The kingdom, anxious, and with eyes directed towards their sovereign, betrayed no symptoms of confusion, anarchy, or civil commotion. The first minister continued to exercise, by a general submission and

and consent, the powers delegated to him before the king's indisposition; and the political machine, well constructed and properly organized, sustained no derangement or injury whatsoever from this shock, except those inseparably connected with delay in the transactions or negotiations pending with foreign courts.

Meanwhile the heir to the monarchy had quitted Bright-helmstone on the first information of his father's malady, and repaired to Windsor, whither he was followed by the duke of York. Physicians were called in, though ineffectually; and as the nature of the distemper and of its final termination opened a wide field to conjecture, change and alteration, an express was sent to overtake Mr. Fox in whatever part of the continent he might be found, and to intreat that he would return without delay to England.

The two houses of parliament, in consequence of the preceding prorogation, met in a few days subsequent to these extraordinary events. The general agitation and curiosity, even if they had not been aided by other emotions of hope and fear, of ambition, and of public duty, would alone have produced a numerous attendance. Mr. Pitt opened the subject of their meeting in a very concise and pathetic manner; lamented the occasion, expressed his hope that the cause would speedily be removed, and, in pursuance of that idea, advised an immediate adjournment of a fortnight. The proposition was received in deep silence by the opposite side of the house, and assented to in mute acquiescence. Their leader was not yet arrived, and consequently time was wanted to adjust and determine on their plan of action under circumstances so delicate and unprecedented. In the interval which took place, his majesty was removed to the palace of Kew. The prince of Wales returned to Carlton House; and Mr. Fox, impatiently expected, after a journey which he performed with incredible expedition from Bologna, in a very infirm and disordered state of health, arrived in London, and assumed his just pre-eminence in the councils of his party.

Those councils evinced their nature and object, as soon as the late adjournment was at an end; and Mr. Fox generously, though perhaps injudiciously, stepping forward in the senate, rather laid claim to the vacant sceptre, in the name and on the behalf of the heir apparent, as belonging and devolving to him of right, than preferred his pretensions with modesty and submission at the bar of the assembled nation. After many warm and interesting debates on this subject, which were often embittered by mutual asperity and reproach, the disorder under which the king suffered during three months, whose violence appeared to baffle all medical skill and exertion;
3 gradually,

gradually, but rapidly, subsisted. Time confirmed the cure, and restored to his subjects a prince, rendered supremely and peculiarly dear to them by the recent prospect and apprehension of his loss. The vision of a regency faded and disappeared, as the sovereign came forward to public view, and was totally extinguished by his resumption of all the regal functions. The demonstrations of national joy far exceeded any recorded in the English annals, and were probably more real and unfeigned than ever were offered on similar occasions. No efforts of despotism, or mandates of arbitrary power could have produced the illuminations which not only the capital but almost every town and village throughout the kingdom, exhibited in testimony of its loyalty; and these proofs of attachment were renewed, and even augmented, on the occasion of his majesty's first appearance in public, and his solemn procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks to heaven for his recovery. Serenity and tranquillity, so long banished, resumed their place, and soon effaced the recollection of a calamity not more awful and alarming in its appearance and progress, than speedily and happily extinguished.

April 23, 1789.

The beginning of this year was distinguished by a more severe frost than has happened since that memorable one in 1740. The river Thames was completely frozen over in several parts, insomuch that booths for recreation were erected, and a variety of sports and amusements commenced. One of the futtling booths had for its sign, "Beer, wine, and spirituous liquors, *without a licence.*" A man who sold hot gingerbread had a board, on which was written. "No shop tax nor window duty."

An enterprise, original in its own nature, able in its conception, bold in its execution, and having no precedent for its guidance, had some years ago been directed to counties and to objects almost as much unknown to geographical as to commercial knowledge or experience. It demanded many qualities rarely and difficultly combined: a considerable capital; ministerial approbation; faithful and capable conductors; dextrous navigators, and above all, much time and perseverance to ripen, and ultimately recompence the persons engaging in so eccentric and expensive an expedition. This extraordinary union of talents and circumstances was, however, found in men of no superior description among the mercantile inhabitants of London; and it will remain a striking monument to future ages, of the energy, capacity, and nautical ability, which distinguish the present century and the British nation, above the most enlightened periods of any ancient or modern people.

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The north west coast of America, the part of the earth to which this embarkation was destined, was not only so remote, but so undefined, that its very existence remained unknown or doubtful, before the discoveries of the reign of George the Third. This immense tract of land, extending northward from California and New Albion to the frozen sea, had been partly explored and faintly traced by captain Cook; but much remained for future enterprise and industry to accomplish, before this discovery could be converted to any purpose of public utility. He had, however, ascertained the existence of the continent; and he had received from the barbarous natives, with whom he established a species of barter, some valuable specimens of furs, in exchange for European commodities of a far inferior nature.

The hope of procuring a considerable quantity of these rare and costly skins, for the sale of which a very advantageous market presented itself at Canton in China, was the leading inducement to the adventurers, who engaged in the expedition. But, in the pursuit of private emolument, objects of general and national consequence were necessarily implicated and interwoven. Behind this coast to the eastward, lay the vast continent of America; opening a field to commercial activity and research, in which the imagination itself was lost. The discovery of a communication through this unexplored country, and which may ultimately connect it, to a certain degree, with our settlements in Hudson's Bay, appears from their account not to be totally visionary, though it was regarded as such by our justly celebrated but unfortunate countryman*.

Animated by these views, and having received the most affirmative marks of the protection of government previous to their departure, five ships were fitted out from London in 1785, and the two succeeding years. Four of these vessels, after doubling Cape Horn, arrived safely on the north-west coast of America. The sanguine expectation which had been entertained of effecting a lucrative exchange of commodities with the natives, were fully and speedily realized. Cargoes of the finest furs were procured, and sold to the Chinese, even under great commercial discouragements, and pecuniary impositions, at so high a price, as amply to reimburse, and enrich the adventurers. Other attempts of a similar nature, were made from Bengal; and two vessels were successively dispatched from the Ganges to the same coast in the year 1786. A factory was established at Nootka Sound, a port situated in the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, on

* Captain Cook.

the shore of America. Possession of it was solemnly taken in the name of the sovereign and crown of England: amicable treaties were concluded with the chiefs of the neighbouring districts; and a tract of land was purchased from one of them, on which the new proprietors proceeded to form a settlement, and to construct storehouses. Every thing bore the appearance of a rising colony, and each year opened new sources of commerce and advantage.

That, upon every principle of the law of nations, upon the established usage in all similar cases, and as being *the first settlers*, the British adventurers had an undoubted title to the place in question, is beyond dispute. Notwithstanding this, in the month of May 1789, a Spanish ship of war from St. Blas, called the *Princesa*, commanded by Mr. Martinez, and mounting twenty guns, anchored there. The various avocations of trade having led the greater part of the persons employed at this settlement to different parts of the coast, the only English trading ship remaining in the Sound was the *Iphigenia*. The *Princesa* was soon joined by a Spanish snow of sixteen guns; and, for some time mutual civilities passed between the Spaniards and English. These, however, were at length interrupted, by an order being sent to captain Douglas, the commander of the *Iphigenia*, to come on board of the *Princesa*; when he was informed by Mr. Martinez, that he had the king of Spain's orders to seize all vessels which he might find upon that coast, and that he himself was his prisoner. In consequence of this Mr. Martinez also took possession of the *Iphigenia* in the name of his Catholic majesty, and conveyed the crew prisoners on board the Spanish ships, where they were ironed. Mr. Martinez also took possession of the settlements, hoisted the Spanish flag, and proceeded to erect various buildings, on which he employed, together with his own men, some of the crew of the *Iphigenia*. He afterwards permitted captain Douglas to resume the command of his ship; and on his representing, that he had been stripped of his merchandize, and other stores, Mr. Martinez gave him a small supply of stores and provisions, for which he took bills on the owners, by means of which, about a fortnight after he was at first detained, he was enabled to proceed to China.

Of these transactions only a partial, vague, and uncircumstantial account was known by his majesty ministers, till captain Meares presented his memorial to Mr. Grenville. Within one week after the affair was communicated, the most active and formidable preparations were made, a positive demand of preliminary satisfaction and restitution was sent to Madrid, and the people of England were called upon to adopt the national vindication. The business, however, being com-

promised, a convention was agreed upon between his Britannic majesty and the king of Spain, and signed at the Escorial, by their plenipotentiaries Alleyne Fitzherbert, esquire, on the part of his Britannic majesty, and by count de Florida Blanca on that of his Catholic majesty; which was finally ratified by the court of Spain, and exchanged with Mr. Fitzherbert against his majesty's ratification on the 22nd of November, at the palace of the Escorial, by his Catholic majesty's minister.

By this convention, the navigation of the Pacific Ocean is, in effect, declared to be as free as that of the Atlantic. The right, claimed by England, of pursuing the fishery on those parts of the coast of South America, unoccupied and uncolonized by Spain, is not only avowed, but a vast tract of the Magellanic regions, on either side of Cape Horn, comprising the whole coast below the most southern settlements already made by the Spaniards, is declared to be free to both countries, for every purpose of temporary accommodation: while the two crowns are equally interdicted and restrained from forming future permanent establishments on that inhospitable shore. In return for this concession, England submits to the demand, of not permitting her vessels to approach within ten leagues of the coasts and countries actually occupied by Spain upon the Pacific Ocean. The minister followed the convention with the immediate production of accounts respecting the naval and military armaments, and the pecuniary impositions necessary for their speedy liquidation. He proposed to raise, not merely the interest of the debt recently incurred, but to extinguish the principal itself, in the space of four years; though the expence of the preparations amounted to above three millions sterling.

There were dreadful riots at Birmingham, A. D. 1791. about the middle of July, 1791. A public meeting having been announced to commemorate the anniversary of the French revolution, at the hotel in Temple-Row, a number of persons repaired thither for that purpose; but a mob assembling in the evening, destroyed all the windows of the building, demolished Dr. Priestley's chapel, his house at Fair Hill, and several other houses. The doctor's grand philosophical apparatus, his extensive and valuable library, together with his manuscripts and furniture were all committed to the flames. The riots continued five or six days, during which time, the mob, being reinforced by many thousands from the neighbouring country, razed to the ground, and reduced to ashes, a great number of fine edifices.

The varying aspect of the political horizon in A. D. 1792. France cast a varying light and shade over the neighbouring countries, animating or discouraging
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ing the friends of liberty and innovation on the one hand, and those of established governments on the other. In Britain, in the earlier part of the year, a society was formed under the name of Friends to the People, at the Freemason's Tavern; and other societies, branching from this, were united by correspondence in different parts of the country. The march of duke of Brunswick into France cast a damp on these societies, and all who abetted them. His retreat, however, revived their spirits, and they were suspected of promoting disturbances.

A royal Proclamation called on all who held offices under government, and wished well to the British constitution, to keep order, and to carry the laws against all riots and disorders into execution with vigour. This tried and proved the principles of the British nation, which, particularly in England, appeared to be on the side of the present order of affairs in the church, as well as in matters of government. Associations were every where formed in opposition to all turbulence and sedition, more numerous than the societies above-mentioned. The parliament, which, from the apprehension of danger, was all on a sudden summoned to meet, before the usual time, breathed the same spirit throughout the nation. In Scotland, however, where every man, from the peer to the beggar, can read, and does read every thing that falls into his hands, the pamphlets of Mr. Paine, and others of a similar nature, made a very sensible impression.

Mr. Dundas the secretary of state, being roughly handled on his visit to his native country, endeavoured to recover his influence by bringing into parliament a bill for the establishment of a militia in Scotland, and another for granting relief to the poor highlanders, labouring under the miserable effects of a rainy and backward season. The Alien Bill was passed, by which all foreigners, who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, were obliged to leave the kingdom. In Ireland, the Roman Catholics held a convention for the purpose of claiming the right of electing and being elected to parliament. In Scotland, a kind of convention was also held for the purpose of regulating elections, and doing away fictitious votes, which will be a considerable diminution of the aristocratical influence in Scotland. The burgh-reformers in that country persevered in assembling, petitioning, and remonstrating. In the East Indies, lord Cornwallis crowned a successful war with a happy and glorious peace. Several bills were passed, and others introduced into parliament, in favour of humanity; among which lord Rawdon's bill for the relief of unfortunate, not fraudulent debtors, is most distinguished.

The following accounts have been received, with regard to our new settlement in Sierra Leone. It appears that the rain began to set in about the end of May, and that a considerable degree of sickness and mortality had prevailed from that time, chiefly occasioned by the insufficiency of the temporary houses, which could not be completed before the rains set in. The soldiers, and the lower order of white people, suffered more particularly, partly through irregularity, and the want of fresh provisions, the sailors excepted, who, by being accommodated on shipboard, were in general in good health. In all, about thirty-five white persons have died, of whom fourteen were soldiers. The whole number of white persons who have gone to the colony (sailors included) are upwards of two hundred. Of the blacks from Nova Scotia, a considerable number have fallen sick, and many had died; but no regular returns of the mortality among them could be furnished at the time of the sailing of the Sierra Leone packet. It was thought, however, that the number of sick was decreased. The colony were in anxious expectation of the arrival of the company's ship York (which was unfortunately driven back to Plymouth by a storm), as many of the deaths appeared to be owing to the want of good accommodations on shore. The natives appeared to be extremely friendly, and a few had come to work for the company. The colony were still in want of fresh provisions; but fish, vegetables, and fruit, were in tolerable plenty, and the settlers had begun to sow a variety of seeds for their own sustenance, which appeared to thrive very well. The company's manager had collected a few sugar-canes, with a view of beginning a plantation, which were thriving extremely well.

Earl Stanhope's experiments for navigating vessels by the *steam engine*, without masts or sails, have succeeded so much to his satisfaction on a small scale, that a vessel of two hundred tons burthen, on this principle, is now building under his direction. The expence of this vessel is to be paid by the navy board in the first instance, on condition that if she do not answer, after a fair trial, she shall be returned to the earl of Stanhope, and all the expence incurred made good by him. This is undoubtedly a noble experiment, and highly honourable to his lordship, whatever may be its success. If it answer, the advantage to the public, particularly to inland navigation, will be immense. If it fail, he will be entitled to the praise of having bestowed much study and a large sum of money on an object of national utility.

In the month of December, an information was tried in the court of King's-bench, against Mr. Sampson Perry,
printer

printer of a late morning paper, called *The Argus*, for a libel, insinuating, that the house of commons were not the real representatives of the people, and that therefore the laws were not enacted by their own consent. The necessary evidence being adduced, lord Kenyon declared it to be a very flagitious libel; and the jury brought in their verdict guilty. In the London Gazette preceding this trial, a reward of 100*l.* was offered, for the apprehending of Mr. Perry.

Much about the same time, a court of lieutenancy of the London militia was held at Guildhall; present the lord-mayor, aldermen Sainsbury, Crosby, Newnham, Pickett, Curtis, Macaulay, Anderson, sir Watkin Lewis, colonel, and the two sheriffs. The court came to a determination, that one company shall be constantly kept on duty at the Artillery-house, night and day, to be ready at a moment's notice, in case any disturbance should happen in the city, owing to the prevalence of French principles. They likewise came to a resolution to swear in forty of their men as extra-constables. A few days after, several hundreds of men were employed about the walls of the Tower. The stones, which were upon sundry parts of Tower-hill, were collected together, with quantities of earth, into old puncheons, and used in forming barricadoes. The gates were shut at nine o'clock, two hours sooner than usual. Strangers were with difficulty admitted in the day time, and no persons but officers and sentinels were suffered to appear upon the ramparts.

During the same month, came on before lord Kenyon and a special jury, at Guildhall, the trial of Thomas Paine, for writing and publishing a certain seditious pamphlet, under the title of *The Second Part of the Rights of Man*. The information, which was opened by Mr. Percival, stated, that Thomas Paine, being a wicked, malicious, seditious, and ill-disposed person, and disaffected to the king and government, had traduced the happy revolution effected by the prince of Orange, afterwards king William III.—the acceptance of the crown by the said prince and queen Mary—the convention-parliament, which had conferred the crown on their said majesties—and the bill of rights, including the settlement of the succession: that he had endeavoured to represent, that these were respectively contrary to the rights and interest of the people; that our hereditary regal government was a tyranny; that our parliament was a wicked, corrupt, and unnecessary establishment; that the king, lords, and commons tyrannized over the people; and that thus he had endeavoured to infuse groundless discontents against the king and parliament, as well as against our constitution, laws, and government.

The attorney general then rose, and in the course of a long and able speech, read several passages from the work in support of the information, and contended that the whole was throughout malignant in the intention of the writer, and extremely mischievous in its tendency. The publication, &c. being proved, Mr. Erskine entered into a very long defence of the author, on the general grounds of the freedom of the press; contending, that his client had not gone beyond the bounds of fair and allowable discussion; that the topics on which he had animadverted, had been treated with still greater force of expression by the duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, &c. illustrating his observations by various quotations from Locke, Hume, Milton, Paley, and others; and deprecating the spirit of prejudice that had gone forth against his client. When he had finished, the attorney general rose immediately to reply; but the foreman of the jury said,—My lord, I am authorized by the jury here to inform the attorney general, that a reply is not necessary for them, unless the attorney general, wishes to make it, or your lordship. The attorney general sat down, and the jury gave in their verdict—*Guilty.*

C H A P. III.

Reflections on War—Domestic Events—Turkish Ambassador—Treaties for Subsidies—Parliamentary Reform—Trial of Mr. Gerald—Lord Cornwallis is presented with the Freedom of the City—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Persons committed to the Tower—Lord Macartney's reception at the Chinese court.

THERE are certain calamities incident to mankind which, from the constancy of their operation, and the frequency of their occurrence, seem insensibly connected with the moral government of the universe. War makes the most conspicuous figure in this class of human ills. Every attempt which has been made to check its progress or diminish its horrors, has only extended its influence, or increased its excesses. Principles which, in their nature, insured the prospect of general tranquillity, have been found in their propagation to terminate in the production of universal confusion; and religion and liberty, the distinguished gifts of Heaven to rational beings,

beings, and the primary sources of happiness to man, have filled the inhabitants of the earth with sorrow, and deluged its soil with blood. The hostilities which have agitated the different nations in this quarter of the globe, may be attributed to the struggles between the popish and protestant states for the defence or extension of their peculiar religious tenets; the contests between sovereigns and subjects for the exercise of prerogative, or the establishment of liberty; and finally, the efforts of different communities to stop the progress of an ambitious neighbour, and prevent the destruction of that balance of power on which the general security is founded. The two former objects were the great causes of contest from the accession of Charles the Fifth to the memorable treaty of Munster. From those sources the bloody civil wars which desolated Germany and France derived their origin; from them we may trace the obstinate dispute between Spain and Holland; the subjugation of Portugal by Philip the Second; and the execution of Charles the First in England. And at that period of history, as well as at the present era, men were not contented with perpetrating deeds of open violence, but recurred to massacres and assassinations, to gratify their resentments and assuage their angry passions. The institution of the order of the Jesuits bears no small analogy to the formation of the Jacobin club; in the character of Mirabeau we may discover many features of resemblance to that of Ignatius Loyola. Can the most superficial observer forbear from drawing a comparison between the horrors of St. Bartholomew, and those of the 2nd of September; or from assigning as distinguished places in the temple of infamy to Marat, and Ankarstroem, as to the murderers of William of Orange, and Henry the Third and Fourth of France? Enthusiasm, however produced, will commonly betray into similar acts of wickedness; those who are under its influence will only vary their means to effectuate the same ends; the misguided disciple of licentiousness, as well as the deluded votary of superstition, will think he does God service in destroying his fellow-creatures; and happy would it be for the world if repeated experience would finally teach us, that vice is always in extremes, and that all virtue consists in moderation.

It had been long evident, that the court of London viewed the revolution in France with jealousy, concern, and disgust; although the commercial interests of the nation restrained the British government from taking an open and active part for its suppression. But it is not always by motives of interest that nations, any more than individuals, are guided in their councils, and determined in their actions. Sympathy with suffering innocence, and indignation against cruelty and in-

justice, have often roused individuals to make exertions in favour of others that they would not have had the courage of making for themselves. And there are atrocities capable of exciting, for a time, the general sympathies and antipathies of nations. The murder of the late king of France, Jan. 21, 1793. the amiable Louis XVI. and thousands of other victims, struck the nations around, but none more than the generous people of England, with horror. Sorrow for the dead was mingled with apprehension for the safety of the living. Britain, therefore, joined the confederacy against France. Upon the melancholy report of his most Christian majesty's death reaching this country, the court was immediately ordered into mourning. M. Chauvelin was, by an order of the king in council, directed to depart this realm on or before the first of February; and a message was sent by his majesty to both houses of parliament, directing the correspondence between M. Chauvelin and the secretary of state for foreign affairs, together with the order of council in consequence of the atrocious act lately committed at Paris, to be laid before them; and intimating that his majesty in the present situation of affairs thought it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation to his forces by sea and land, for maintaining the securities and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing the views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are peculiarly so when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society. Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Tuscany, followed the example of Britain; Venice, Genoa, Geneva, and Hamburgh, resolved to remain in a state of neutrality; Sweden and Denmark, notwithstanding the remonstrances of our court, furnished supplies to the French: but these very circumstances, in all probability, have had their influence in determining the empress of Russia to make those mighty preparations, now on foot, for action next summer, and which are generally supposed to be destined, collaterally, for the humiliation of France; though their ultimate object, if we may judge from the uniform ambition of that great princess, is, in some shape or other, her own aggrandisement.

As the transactions of Europe are, from this period, so much connected with those of France, I shall here close this short view of English history with an account of some of the most remarkable domestic occurrences.

On the 22nd of January a treasury board was held at Carlton House, when the reduction of his royal highness the prince

prince of Wales's establishment took place. The domestics discharged are to be paid their arrears up to last quarter, and then to be established on a pension of half their salary during their dismissal. On the 29th of the same month, lord George Gordon was brought before the court of King's Bench, in order to give security for his future good behaviour, the term of his imprisonment being at an end; when, the two persons who had offered not being accepted, the judges remanded him back to Newgate; to which he was immediately conducted by the proper officers, until he can find sufficient sureties.

The ministry endeavoured to oppose the introduction of French principles by means of an act for restraining all intercourse with them, called, an act for the prevention of traitorous correspondence; and of a strict prosecution of every thing that tended to sedition. Lloyd, the attorney, who advertised the Fleet Prison to let, "in the first year of English liberty," enjoyed an hour of *notoriety* in the pillory opposite to the Royal Exchange. During the first quarter of an hour the engine was so loosely placed, that he simply leaned through it at his comparative ease; an alteration however was made by order of the sheriff, that it should be shut close. The concourse of people was very great; and by the assistance of about two hundred constables, good order was preserved during the whole time.—One Carter, who was indicted and found guilty of having unlawfully published a scandalous and seditious libel, entitled "An Address from the London Corresponding Society to the other Societies in Great Britain, united for the purpose of obtaining a reform in parliament." The address was an answer to that of Mr. Reeves's Association; and Carter was sentenced to six months imprisonment for having pasted up the address at the corner of St. Giles. The next example was Daniel Crichton for uttering treasonable words against the king. He was proved to have said, when looking at the *Regalia* in the Tower of London that *he would have no king here, they had no king in Scotland*. He had come up the night before from Scotland to be bound as an apprentice to a tallow chandler: honourable testimony was made in court by a respectable clergyman of his general good character, and he himself expressed the most sincere compunction for having in an unguarded moment of intoxication uttered words which in his full reflection he would not ever have spoken. He was sentenced however to three months imprisonment.

On the 12th of February, being the last day of Term, the solicitor general prayed the judgment of the court of King's Bench upon the Rev. Richard Burgh, James Davis,
J. Cum-

J. Cummins, Thomas Townly M'Can, and John Bourne, who had been tried and convicted for a conspiracy to effect their own, and the escape of the other prisoners legally confined for debt, and for that purpose setting fire to, and attempting to destroy the walls of the King's Bench Prison; when they were severally sentenced to three years imprisonment, at the expiration of which they are to find security for their good behaviour for three years: Burgh in two hundred pounds, and two sureties in one hundred pounds each; and the other prisoners in one hundred pounds each, and two sureties in fifty pounds each.—On the 25th at half past six, the three battalions of guards destined for foreign service were drawn up on the parade before the Horse guards. At seven the king, attended by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and several general and other officers, came down the Mall from Buckingham House. His majesty was mounted upon a beautiful white charger, and wore a general's uniform. After his majesty had been about half an hour on the parade, the battalions passed him by companies, moving to slow time, the officers saluting as they passed. They then went off by Storey's-gate, and took the road to Greenwich. When the whole had passed, his majesty, with his suite, fell in the rear of the battalions, and accompanied them to the place of their embarkation. The march was honoured with the presence of the queen and the three eldest princesses. The duke of Clarence, in a coach and six, likewise accompanied the march of the battalions. The embarkation took place immediately on their arrival at Greenwich. On the 11th of March, between seven and eight o'clock, a detachment of the Guards, commanded by Col. St. Leger, marched from the parade, in St. James's Park, to the Tower wharf, where they embarked, accompanied with Brook Watfon, esq. commissary general for Holland. The privates are all artificers of ability; the non-commissioned have most of them been upon recruiting parties, and are picked men, returned since the departure of his royal highness the duke of York. This detachment completes the number of Guards originally ordered for service in Holland.

Much about the same time, his majesty's attorney general directed an attachment to be laid on a sum of money lying in the Bank, to the amount of 100,000*l.* sterling, in the name of Messrs Bourdieu and Chollet, agents for the French Republic.

On the ninth of April, the following disagreeable information, was received at the secretary of states office, from Nootka Sound. Mr. Hergeft, a lieutenant in the British Navy, accompanied by Mr. Gooch, the astronomer, went on shore among the natives (who are described by Mr. Mears

as a very quiet inoffensive people), and from that description having a confidence in them, they went unarmed; the savages, however, had no sooner got them in their possession, than they fell upon them, and most inhumanly murdered them. An armed party were sent from the ship*, but too late to be of any service, as the two unfortunate gentlemen were already murdered, and the horrid savages were preparing to broil and eat them.

On the 13th of May Robert Mackreth, esq. M. P. was brought into the court of King's Bench, pursuant to order, to receive judgment for giving a challenge to sir John Scott, his majesty's then solicitor general. After reprobating in general terms the practice of duelling, and animadverting on the circumstances of this cause, the court sentenced Mr. Mackreth to be fined in the sum of 100*l.* and to be imprisoned for the space of six weeks in the King's Bench Prison.

On the 27th of the same month came on before lord Kenyon and a special jury, in the court of King's Bench, the trial of Mr. Frost, the attorney, for seditious words spoken at the Percy coffee-house. The attorney general addressed the court on the part of the prosecution; he then called Messrs. Tate, Savilliac, Yateman, and Bullock, as evidence for the crown. Mr. Erskine addressed the jury in a speech of great eloquence, on the part of the defendant. The jury retired for about an hour and a half, and brought in their verdict—Guilty. The indictment against Mr. Frost stated, that he, on the 6th of November last, at the Percy coffee-house, Rathbone Place, made use of these seditious words: "I am for Equality; I see no reason why one man should be greater than another; I would have no king; and the constitution of this country is a bad one." On the 19th of June, judge Ashurst pronounced the sentence of the court against Mr. Frost. After commenting on the heinousness of his offence he sentenced the defendant to be imprisoned in Newgate for the space of six months, and within that time to stand in and upon the pillory at Charing Cross, between the hours of twelve and two; and after the expiration of that time, to enter into security for five years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each. Lord Kenyon ordered the defendant to be struck off the Roll.

The settlement at New South Wales, it would appear, is in a very flourishing state. Governor Philips has brought home with him very minute and particular accounts of the actual situation of the colony. By these we are informed, that the settlers were making very considerable progress in

* The *Cædalus*.

the cultivation of their land, and in rearing of live stock. Every settler had at least one breeding sow, with sheep, goats, and other cattle. The pasturage is uncommonly fine, and in great plenty; and such progress had been made in clearing and cultivating the government lands, that nearly two thousand acres were in corn when the governor left the settlement, with every appearance of a luxuriant crop. The celebrated Barrington is likely to become a man of some consequence at last. His natural talents entitle him to a more respectable distinction than that which he enjoyed, and we hope he has tasted enough of the bad effects of vicious courses to abandon them entirely. Major Grose commandant of the New South Wales corps, and lieutenant governor of the settlement, commands at New South Wales, in the absence of governor Philips. Captain Nepean is second in command. Governor Philips tells many curious stories of his majesty's subjects in Botany Bay. Barrington is high-constable of the settlement, and administers justice with a most impartial hand. There is no severity that will operate to the prevention of the natives stealing one another's cabbages. One of the convicts has built a comfortable house, and has cultivated his share of ground to great advantage. His time is expired, but he refuses to return to England, and actually gives his share of the government provision to his neighbours, as he is able to live with his family on his farm.

During the month of July, died at Hopetown-hall, near Edinburgh, a man of the name of Robertson, at the surprising age of 137. This *modern patriarch* had always lived in the family of the lords of that place, whom he served in the quality of inspector of the lead works, four complete generations, besides the time elapsed since the birth of the present possessor. The funeral was celebrated with a decency that does honour to his noble patron, who immediately bespoke an elegant monument, with an inscription expressive of the zeal and fidelity of an old and worthy servant, for the space of 110 years.

On the 30th of August, came on the trial of Mr. Thomas Muir, younger, of Huntershill, before the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh. He was accused of exciting, at different meetings, denominated *Societies for Reform*, by means of seditious speeches and harangues, a spirit of disloyalty and disaffection to the king and the established government—of advising and exhorting persons to purchase and peruse seditious publications and writings*, calculated to promote a spirit

* Paine's works, A Declaration of Rights, The Patriot, &c.

of disloyalty and disaffection among his majesty's subjects—of distributing or circulating a seditious writing or publication of the tendency aforesaid, or causing to distribute or circulate such seditious writing or publication—of producing and reading aloud, in a public meeting or convocation of persons, a seditious and inflammatory writing, entitled “An Address from the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland,” tending to produce in the minds of the people a spirit of insurrection, and of opposition to the established government; and publicly approving of, and recommending, in the said meeting, this seditious, inflammatory writing.—To these charges Mr. Muir pleaded *Not Guilty*. He said he had nothing to observe on the relevancy; he would trust himself to the jury. He had given in, when last before the court, a written defence, in which he declared the libel to be false, and that he would *prove* that he had all along *supported the constitution*. Being asked if he had any other defence, he said he rested upon his own written defence. He had uniformly advised the people to pursue legal and constitutional measures, as well as to read all books written upon the great national question of reform.—The jury being named, Mr. Muir *objected* to every one of them. He said, that as the gentlemen, however respectable, were all subscribers of the Goldsmith's Hall Association, and had offered a reward for discovering those who circulated what they deemed seditious writings, they had already *prejudged* him, and were therefore improper persons to pass upon his assize.—The solicitor general, in reply, said their lordships were equally precluded, as both they, and every friend to the constitution, had condemned the writings of Paine.—After examining many witnesses in behalf of the prosecution, and others on the part of the defendant, the lord justice Clerk summed up the evidence, and commented with much strength of language on the different parts of it, but left it to the jury to draw their own conclusions; who finding him guilty of the crimes charged, the court sentenced him to be transported beyond the seas (to such place as his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, shall judge proper) for the space of fourteen years.—Mr. Muir observed, that though some in the court might think the sentence too lenient, and others too severe, yet had he been carried from the bar to the scaffold, he would have met his fate with equal coolness, so convinced was he of the justice of his conduct.

At Perth too, the Rev. Fische Palmer was found guilty of writing a seditious hand bill; and his sentence was seven years transportation.

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On the 13th of September, at night, prince Adolphus arrived *incog.* at the Hanoverian Office, Bury-street, from the British Camp before Dunkirk. His royal highness slept at Mr. Best's, in Thatched-court, and next morning set off to see his royal parents at Kew palace. He came up with his helmet on, through which he was cut. One of his eyes was hurt by a blow which he received in the engagement. His coat also bore the marks of the sabre.

On the 23rd of October the peace of Birmingham was again disturbed, as follows:—Mr. Barrs, linen-draper, one of the constables, called on a person named Wood, who keeps a little huckster's shop in Lichfield-street, for payment of the quota he had been assessed towards the rate for reimbursing the sufferers by the riots in 1791. He pleaded his poverty, but, on the constable telling him he knew he was able to pay, and that if he persisted in his refusal, he must distrain his goods; Wood swore an horrible oath, that if he touched a stick of his property, he would murder him, drawing at the same time a long carving knife. The constable, alarmed for his safety, prudently retired for further succour. In the mean time, Wood, to inflame and exasperate a large mob, which had now assembled about his door, represented the rate as a grievous imposition, and the constable as excessively cruel and arbitrary in collecting it. The incensed mob, after parading the street with shouts and hazzas, proceeded to Mr. Barr's house, in Temple-row, where they began to throw stones, &c. at the doors and windows, the latter of which they totally demolished. An order was sent to the barracks for the troops, on whose arrival the mob took shelter in the church-yard adjacent, from whence, with stones and other things, they insulted and greatly annoyed the troops. The church-yard gates being thrown open, the military rode in amongst the mob; and though the horses were much incommoded, and some a good deal injured by the tomb stones, they dispersed the mob about four o'clock in the morning, many of whom, in the affray, were dangerously wounded; one was killed, and about thirty taken into custody, and lodged in the dungeon. Next morning an express was dispatched to Wolverhampton for two troops of dragoons quartered there. They arrived very opportunely about seven in the evening, just as the mob were proceeding to the dungeon to enlarge their confederates. The prison was assailed with great fury, with large stones, brickbats, &c. but the keeper and his assistants within made a vigorous defence, by firing on the mob, one of whom was killed, and several dangerously wounded. A party of the military, however, arriving,

iving, the mob took to flight immediately, and the town was again restored to peace and security.

It is much to be regretted, that so bad a spirit, for some time past, has displayed itself at Birmingham. Their keen and lasting animosities may do their town and common interest an irreparable injury. The papists of France were so blinded by bigotry, that they did not see that the protestants, whom, by repealing the edict of Nantes, they drove from the country, would carry their manufactures with them: but this has long since been realised; and it should serve for a lesson to every country under heaven. It is "devoutly to be wished" that all commercial men would remember, that it is their interest to preserve harmony and peace; and that quarrels only injure their common concerns. They may feel pleasure at seeing a rival go away; but besides the considerations already adduced, it would be useful for them to reflect for a moment, that the man who leaves England, and carries with him his fortune and his skill, takes away neither the *taxes* nor the *poor*; and that those who remain behind must pay the one and maintain the other.

The melancholy intelligence respecting the plague, which raged in Philadelphia, was confirmed by official notice, signed by governor Clinton. By a private letter there was information, that Philadelphia was nearly depopulated. Upwards of five thousand of the inhabitants had fled from thence, to avoid the plague, which raged with such violence, subsequent to the 27th of last September, that upwards of four hundred persons died in the course of three days. All business had subsided when the last accounts left Philadelphia.

On the 27th of November the Rev. William Winterbotten, found guilty of preaching two seditious sermons, was sentenced for the first offence to pay a fine of 100*l.* to the king, and to be imprisoned in the New Prison in Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, for the term of two years; for the second offence to pay a fine of 100*l.* to the king, and to be imprisoned in the New Prison in Clerkenwell for the term of two years, to be computed after the expiration of the first imprisonment; and at the end of his imprisonment to give security for his good behaviour for the term of five years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

In addition to the other calamities inflicted on mankind, at this awful period, a pestilential fever, which is said first to have appeared at Bulam in Africa, and to have been from thence transmitted to the French West Indies, made the greatest havoc at Philadelphia. Upwards of five thousand of the inhabitants fled from thence to avoid the plague, which raged with such violence subsequent to the 27th of last September

tember, that upwards of five hundred persons died in the course of three days. In the month of November, however, its violence was much abated: and by the cold of winter it may probably be entirely destroyed.

The arrival of a Turkish ambassador at our court, in the month of December, naturally excited public curiosity and attention. The political pride, or religious prejudices, of the Ottoman Porte, have hitherto prevented it from keeping up a regular intercourse of this nature with the other European states; but the crescent of Mahomet has now been long on the wane, and the care we took to hinder its total extinction, may have humbled the arrogance, and awakened the gratitude, of the Grand Signior. Some important commercial regulations, it is hoped, may be the effect of this embassy; and thus a new instance will be furnished of the beneficial influence of trade in humanizing mankind.

During this year, the militia were called out; fortifications were strengthened; and the apprehensions of danger increased by preparations for safety. Thus political warmth, by strengthening the hands of ministry for the present, has left an example that may palsify the hands of future administrations, and even shake the foundation of the British government.

The enormities committed by the French, who threatened to spread democratical licentiousness all around them, continued in Britain a spirit of hostile indignation and resistance. As the season advanced, and the winter approached, a benevolent project was set on foot, intended, as has been supposed, to sound the sense of the nation on the subject of the war, and, by an artful address to the generosity of the people, to lead them into a notion that they were its genuine authors and patrons. A subscription was opened by some agents of the ministry, for warm clothing to the British troops serving on the continent. Some called this elemosynary manœuvre, low cunning, and even, to a certain degree, unconstitutional, as no armed force ought to be maintained without the express consent of parliament; and as it was the duty of government to provide all things necessary for the public service at the public expence, and raised by equitable imposts. Others considered it as an homage to the nation of the same kind with that paid by the emperor, and the king of Spain, to their subjects, when, instead of imposing taxes, they graciously accepted benevolences or voluntary contributions.

A great failure happened in many of our great mercantile and manufacturing houses; as appeared, at first sight, on account of the war, which cut off our intercourse with our nearest and greatest customer; but, as others more paradoxically affirmed, through the very extension of trade and mercantile

tantile adventure. Whatever was the cause of this failure, administration, very properly, endeavoured to obviate its worst effects by distributing, in the way of loan on pledges, or deposits of goods, six millions sterling. This plan had the double effect of preventing much of that calamity which must otherwise have ensued, and of conciliating the attachment of numbers to the present government.

The following treaties for subsidies, were entered into, during this year between Great Britain and other countries. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, engages to keep in readiness for service, for the space of three years, twelve thousand men. By a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, a corps of three thousand troops of that country is taken into the British pay. By a treaty with the margrave of Baden, a corps of troops including seven hundred and fifty-four men, is likewise taken into the British service. The treaty with the king of Sardinia, grants to his Sardinian majesty the sum of 200,000*l.* sterling annually, during the whole course of the war. The treaty with the king of the two Sicilies covenants, that his Sicilian majesty "shall unite to the forces of his Britannic majesty, in order that he may employ them in the Mediterranean, either conjunctly or in concert with his own military and naval forces, a body of six thousand land troops, as well as four ships of the line, four frigates, and four ships of war." The subsistence and forage of the said corps are to be supplied by this country, as soon as it shall have quitted the dominions of his Sicilian majesty. His Britannic majesty engages to "keep a respectable fleet of ships of the line in the Mediterranean, as long as the danger of the Two Sicilies and the operations which they shall undertake against the common enemy shall require: and his said majesty engages to take such arrangements as shall be most proper for maintaining, either by his own forces, or in concert with the other maritime powers engaged in this war, a decided superiority in that sea, and to provide, by this means, for the security of his Sicilian majesty's dominions."

During this year also, after many petitions had been presented to the house of commons from various parts of the country, praying for a reform in the parliamentary representation, Mr. Grey brought forward a petition from the *Friends of the People*, containing an ample detail of the mischiefs which had originated from the corruptions of the legislative body, the baneful effects of ministerial influence, and of the interposition of the peerage; and pledging themselves to prove, by the most irrefragable testimony, the truth of every assertion contained in the body of this memorial. The part

which Mr. Pitt was called upon to act, on the present occasion, was of a difficult nature. Stigmatised by his antagonists as a determined apostate, suspected by many of his friends of fickleness and irresolution, he was bound either to renounce the error in which he had persisted so long, or demonstrate that the evils likely to ensue from a reform of representation were of greater magnitude than any which could be expected from the continuance of the present established mode of election. Without deviating, however, from the principles he had originally adopted, he displayed the impropriety of carrying them into execution at the present crisis; and though he did not pretend to question the expediency of some reformation, yet he shewed the necessity of granting with caution, and denying with resolution.

In whatever aspect this complicated question is viewed, the necessity of circumspection will become more apparent. If arbitrary power is to be shunned on the one hand, licentiousness and anarchy must be avoided on the other; and in endeavouring to remove the ill effects of an inadequate representation, we ought to be careful to avoid the institution of a representative body without respectability, superintended by an executive power destitute of any controlling influence. The perpetual attempts which have been made to postpone a parliamentary reform furnish the strongest evidence of its necessity, and afford the happiest omens of the beneficial consequences with which it would be attended. While the members of *every administration* which has been formed since the revolution, have watched every opportunity to extend the power of the crown, they have seized with equal ardour every occasion which offered for diminishing the authority of the people. And if, in consequence of the success of their machinations, measures have been carried into effect under the sanction of the House of Commons, contrary to the interests, and adverse to the wishes, of the nation, it must inevitably follow, that that body can no longer be deemed the organ by which the general will is conveyed; and instead of being regarded as the unbiassed directors of sovereign authority, must be considered as the passive tools of ministerial despotism. So perfectly well persuaded are the enemies of reform of this dilemma, that, without endeavouring to give it an answer, they have constantly aimed at evading the question by pleading the impropriety of entering upon the discussion, or boldly attempting to cut the knot which they cannot unloose, by denying the principles on which the enquiry is founded, though congenial to every maxim of British jurisprudence, and every enactment of British legislation. But though the latter of these objections might have come from
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the mouth of Walpole, yet the superior sense of the nation would now turn with disdain from the repetition, and the superior virtue, or more consummate modesty of the present administration has taught them to reject it with equal contempt. But this concession is attended with no beneficial influence; it only furnishes the means of a more plausible deception, by flattering the people with the prospect of acquiring privileges which can never be reduced into possession, or enjoyed in practice. The enjoyment of rights which are founded on the immutable principles of truth, are still made to depend on the fluctuating prejudices and contracted views of interested individuals: but imprisoned violence will at last have vent, and, unless its fury is diverted, must burst in thunder on the head of the oppressor. In answer to all these arguments in favour of a reform, it may, however, be urged, that its advocates constantly refer to an ideal era of perfection to which the constitution never attained, and which never existed but in the conceptions of these projectors. They complain of the mischiefs which the present system produces, but have they duly considered whether these inconveniencies are not rather to be ascribed to the necessary imperfection of every human institution, than to the corruption of ministers, or the prerogatives of the crown? Can they produce any form of political institution which can be experimentally shewn to have produced so much good, with so small a portion of evil, as the constitution at present established?—The necessity of a reform is generally allowed; and in order to justify a claim of relief, the nature of the grievance ought to be distinctly proposed, and the remedy to be applied specifically stated.

On the 13th of January, Mr. Margarot, accused of different seditious practices, was tried A. D. 1794. before the High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh. After a long trial, the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to fourteen years transportation beyond the seas. Before he went to be tried, a great crowd assembled at his lodgings in Leith-street about ten o'clock, and he was conducted with a wreath or arch held over him, with inscriptions of *Reason, Liberty, Parliamentary Reform*, and the like. About the middle of the North Bridge, however, the cavalcade was met by the lord provost, sheriff, constables, peace-officers, &c. and immediately dispersed. The arch was demolished, and its supporters were taken into custody. A pressgang attended to assist the peace officers. Mr. Margarot then walked to the court, escorted by the lord provost and sheriffs, and no disturbance ensued.

On the 9th of February, the arrival of the *Swallow Packet* at Torbay, with the most noble marquis Cornwallis and part of his suite, was announced at the India House. The *Swallow* left Madras the 10th of October, when all the presidencies and possessions of the company were in an unexampled state of prosperity; five lacks of Pagodas had been sent to Bengal from Madras, and there were still five lacks remaining in the treasury of Fort St. George. Tippoo Saib had made all his payments.

On the 10th of March, came on, before the High Court of Justiciary, the trial of Joseph Gerald, esquire, late of Bloomsbury square, London. The accusation, at the instance of the lord advocate of Scotland, charged him with being a member of a seditious association, called "*The British Convention*," which met at Edinburgh in November and December last; and that on the 21st and 28th of November he made addresses of a seditious nature to the members of the said convention. The indictment also charged Mr. Gerald with being present in the convention, when the magistrates and sheriff went to disperse the members. The libel was restricted to an arbitrary punishment. When the court met, before the libel was read over, Mr. Gerald objected to the lord justice Clerk sitting on the bench. Upon this his lordship rose, and lord Henderland took the chair. Mr. Gerald then presented a written minute, containing the specific objections to his lordship's sitting on the bench, and the facts which he offered to prove in support of these objections. They were, that his lordship had prejudged his cause; inasmuch as, some time since, when in the house of Mr. Rothead of Inverleith, he said, "What would they think of sending Margarot to Botany Bay, and giving him a whipping also?" He desired that this minute might be entered in the records of the court.—Their lordships, in general, were of opinion, that the objection was not well founded, for the words alluded to were merely part of a conversation at table; and could any man suppose, that such language could have any influence upon a judicial procedure? Would it be proper to give force to such a charge, founded on a few loose words, and not at all connected with the business of the writ, nor delivered in the capacity of a judge? If such objections were to be tolerated, they might be attended with the most dangerous consequences. It was throwing an indignity upon the court, and was intended as a foul asperson upon the character of that respectable and learned judge, who was vice president of the court, and who added honour to the bench. Suppose that such words really had been spoken, how could they tend to

to prejudice the cause of Mr. Gerald, when it remained with a jury to try him? One of their lordships remarked, that the charge against the defendant, if true, was highly aggravated by the ill-founded charge he had now made upon that respectable judge; and, if a verdict were found against him by the jury, *he would not say but he might consider fourteen years transportation* as too small a punishment to be inflicted. In the case of Mr. Margarot, he hesitated much whether fourteen years ought to be the punishment, or whether one more severe should be imposed; for, he considered the conduct of that person, in the course of his trial, as highly reprehensible. The accusation which the defendant now made might originate in malice. Their lordships resumed the consideration of the objection, and were of opinion that it was irrelevant, and ought to be rejected. Upon this the lord chief justice Clerk was called to the chair. The indictment was then read over, to which the defendant pleaded *Not Guilty*. Mr. Gillies then addressed the court in defence of Mr. Gerald. The pleadings on both sides continued till eleven o'clock at night, when the jury withdrew, and brought in a verdict next morning at eleven o'clock, unanimously finding the *Panel Guilty*, when the lords passed sentence of banishment beyond the seas for the space of *fourteen years* *.

On the 5th of April, lord Cornwallis was presented with the freedom of the city of London, which the court of mayor, aldermen, and common council, had unanimously voted to his lordship, on the happy conclusion of the late war in India. After the usual oath was administered at the Mansion House, Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes addressed the noble marquis on his meritorious conduct in the East. A very magnificent entertainment was provided by the lord mayor. The tables were decorated with a number of emblematical ornaments. From triumphal arches, warlike trophies, and different figures were suspended. At the principal table were two historical pictures in variegated sanding, of the delivery of the hostages from the Sultan to marquis Cornwallis, and in the key stone of an ornamental and very elegant arch, the arms of his lordship united with the arms and supporters of London. The front of the Mansion House was illuminated in a superior style; and on the centre, between the two columns, was in-

* Mr. Gerald was born in the West Indies, where he inherited considerable property. His first residence in this country was under the roof of Dr. Parr, with whom he remained for a number of years. When he left the care of his learned instructor, he returned to the West Indies, where he married, and where his wife now resides. By this lady he had two children, who are now alive, and at school in this country. Mr. Gerald is at this time no more than thirty-four years of age.

troduced a very large and exquisitely well painted transparency, of the delivering the two sons of the Sultan, by the ambassador to the noble marquis Cornwallis, with several figures as large as life, executed by Mr. Singleton, under the direction of Mr. Powell.

On the 2nd of May, Mr. Stone, a coal-merchant, of Rutland-street, Thames-street, was taken up on a charge of high treason; and, after various examinations was committed to Newgate for trial.

On the 12th of May, the following message from his majesty was presented to the house of commons. "His majesty having received information that the seditious practices which have been some time carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with societies in different parts of the country, have lately been pursued with increased activity and boldness, and have been avowedly directed to the object of assembling a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, and on principles subversive of the existing laws and constitution, and directly tending to the introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which has fatally prevailed in France, has given directions for seizing the books and papers of the said societies in London, which have been seized accordingly; and these books and papers appearing to contain matter of the greatest importance to the public interest, his majesty has given orders for laying them before the house of Commons; and his majesty recommends it to the house to consider the same, and to take such measures thereupon as may appear to be necessary for effectually guarding against the further prosecution of these dangerous designs, and for preserving to his majesty's subjects the enjoyment of the blessings derived to them by the constitution happily established in these kingdoms."

In consequence of this message, Mr. Pitt, on the 16th, deflected on the danger which threatened the constitution of this country, and the meditated destruction of laws, liberty, and property. It called, he said, for the immediate interference of parliament; and he was sorry to say, that the exigency of the case appeared to be so urgent, as to require one of the strongest measures which it was in the power of that house to adopt; a measure, which for a while deprived the subject of one of his dearest rights; but a right which, for the safety of the whole, would, he trusted, for a short time be cheerfully resigned. What he alluded to were the benefits of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, the suspension of which he then, in effect, proposed, by moving for leave to bring in a bill "to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons

as his majesty may suspect of conspiring against his person and government." Mr. Fox and several other members opposed the motion at great length, on the ground that the necessity of the case did not call for such a measure. "From the revolution," said they "to the complete defeat of the pretensions of the house of *Stuart*, the wisdom of our ancestors did not deem the existence of a zealous, powerful, and indefatigable jacobite party a sufficient reason, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual existing conspiracy, for subjecting the personal liberty of the whole kingdom to the will of a few individuals." The necessity and expediency of the measure were warmly defended by Mr. Burke, and other able speakers. The bill therefore, in a few days, passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

In the mean time Mr. D. Adams, formerly clerk in the Auditor's office, and secretary to the society for Constitutional Information, and Mr. Hardy, secretary to the London Corresponding Society, were taken into custody. The Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to lord Stanhope, and tutor to lord Mahon, was also secured; and soon after, Mr. Thelwall, the *political lecturer*, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Richter, Mr. Lovatt, and Mr. Horne Tooke. On the 19th of May, after examinations before the privy council, these six were committed to the Tower, charged with high treason. The prisoners were conducted to separate apartments. The Rev. Mr. Joyce was put into the house of the head gaoler, Grauz, guarded by two wardens, and two soldiers outside the door; and no person on any account was permitted to have access to him. Citizen Tooke was conducted to the house of the head gaoler, Kinghorn, with the same guard. Thelwall, whose restless conduct caused great uneasiness in the mind of Timms, the messenger, was sent to the apartments formerly occupied by the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots. Lovatt and Richter were put into different strong apartments in the White Tower. Bonney was conducted to an apartment in the east wing, with the same orders and guard. Tooke was in high spirits, and expressed his thanks to the executive government, for the care they took of the health of him and his companions, in providing them with *country lodgings*. Bonney was also in good spirits. Joyce and Richter were severely and sensibly affected, and wept bitterly. Thelwall was particularly riotous and impertinent, bravadoing every thing, and treating every person with contempt.

About this time accounts were received of lord Macartney's safe arrival, and most honourable reception, at the court of Pekin. His lordship arrived on board the *Lion* man of war, accompanied by the *Jackall* brig, and company's ship,

Hindoostan, at Macao, about the middle of June. His lordship did not immediately land; but sir *George Staunton* and his son, a remarkably accomplished young man, and eminently conversant in the Chinese language, went on shore, with *Mr. Brown*, *Mr. Irwine*, and *Mr. Jackson*. Lord Macartney afterwards proceeded on his embassy, and reached Limpo, on the coast of China, a little to the southward of the Yellow River. Two mandarins of the highest order went off, to pay him the first writ, and communicate the imperial welcome. His lordship returned their visit, on shore. He then proceeded with his staff and suite, civil and military, in boats, up the Yellow River, on his way to *Pekin*. The forms of audience being adjusted in the most honourable manner for the British embassy, his lordship was received by the emperor with the highest marks of distinction and respect; and had the honour of being seated on the left hand of his *majesty*. The presents, which are superior in value and variety to any that have ever been known on similar occasions, were most graciously received; and the business of the embassy was commenced, with the fairest appearance of the most favourable issue, and the establishment of solid and extensive advantages to Great Britain. The *lion* and *jackall* had returned to Macao; and the *Hindoostan* was daily expected from the island of *Chusan*. Lord Macartney was to come by land from *Pekin* to *Canton*, where a most magnificent house was preparing for his reception. What an interesting journey---one thousand miles through China!

C H A P. IV.

Literature, Arts, and Sciences.

ENGLAND may be looked upon as another word for the seat of learning and the muses. Her great *Alfred* cultivated both, in the time of the Saxons, when barbarism and ignorance overspread the rest of Europe; nor has there since his time been wanting a continual succession of learned men, who have distinguished themselves by their writings or studies. In the dark ages, *Roger Bacon* was a prodigy of learning, and natural philosophy. He was a forerunner in science to the great *Bacon*, lord *Verulam*, as the latter was to *Sir Isaac Newton*. He lived under *Henry III.* and died at *Oxford* about the year 1204. *Chaucer*, the father of English poetry,

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was the brightest ornament of the court of Edward III. His *Canterbury Tales* abound with much true humour, and pleasantry. He had, however, many disadvantages to struggle with, from which his contemporaries were in a great measure free. William the Conqueror had attempted to extirpate the English tongue. The Norman language was ordered to be used in all public writings, and taught in all public schools. It was also the dialect of the court. That badge of slavery was only abolished by Edward III. It had continued almost three hundred years. Chaucer had therefore to create, or at least to form a new dialect. This circumstance ought always to be attended to in contemplating the writings of our venerable bard; as it alone can account for that prodigious difference observable, after all his diligence, between the progress of English manners, and of the English language. Had things continued to proceed in their natural order, Chaucer's style would now have been nearly as intelligible as that of Shakspeare.

Since the reformation, England resembles a galaxy of literature, and it is but doing justice to the memory of Cardinal Wolsey, though otherwise a dangerous and profligate minister, to acknowledge that both his example and encouragement laid the foundation of the polite arts, and greatly contributed to the revival of classical learning in England. Queen Elizabeth advanced many persons of consummate abilities to high ranks, both in church and state; but she seems to have considered their literary accomplishments to have been only secondary to their civil. In this she shewed herself a great politician, but she would have been a more amiable queen had she raised genius from obscurity; for though she was no stranger to Spencer's muse, she suffered herself to be so much imposed upon by a tasteless minister, that the poet languished to death in obscurity. Though she tasted the beauties of the divine Shakspeare, yet we know not that they were distinguished by any particular acts of her munificence; but her parsimony was nobly supplied by her favourite the earl of Essex, the politest scholar of the age, and his friend the earl of Southampton, who were liberal patrons of genius.

Queen Elizabeth herself was truly and substantially learned, having studied the best ancient as well as modern authors, and being an uncommon mistress of the Greek and Roman tongues. The confinement and persecutions of her youth afforded scope for the acquisition of eminent intellectual attainments; and Roger Ascham was one of her preceptors. How well skilled she was in the Greek language, was manifest from her writing a comment on Plato, and from her translating into Latin a dialogue of Xenophon, two orations

of Isocrates, and a play of Euripides. Into English she translated Plutarch de Curiositate. Her versions from Latin authors into her own tongue were Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, Sallust's Jugurthine war, and part of Horace's Art of Poetry. With her general learning, Queen Elizabeth united an uncommon readiness in speaking the Latin language; a talent which some very good scholars do not possess; though it was more frequent in that age than it is in the present. This talent she displayed in three orations; one delivered in the university of Cambridge, and two in the university of Oxford. An extraordinary instance of her ability in this way was exhibited in a rapid piece of eloquence with which she interrupted an insolent ambassador from Poland. "Having ended her oration, she lion-like rising," say the historians, "daunted the malapert orator no less with her stately port and majestic departure, than with the tartness of her princely checks;" and turning to the train of her attendants, said, "God's death! my lords, I have been forced this day to scourge up my old Latin that hath long lain rusting." By her contemporaries Elizabeth has been highly extolled for her poetry; but this must be set down to the flattery of the age.

The reign of James I. was distinguished by the labours of many eminent authors, both in prose and verse, but mostly in a bad taste. That propensity to false wit and superfluous ornament, which we have so frequently occasion to regret in the writings of Shakspeare, and which seems as inseparably connected with the revival, as simplicity is with the origin of letters, infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, however, Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Raleigh's *History of the World*, and the translation of the bible now in use, are striking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progress of English prose. Upon the whole, therefore, it cannot be denied, that English learning is under obligation to James I. though, as he had a very pedantic taste himself, he was the means of diffusing a similar taste among his subjects. His son Charles I. had a taste for the polite arts, especially sculpture, painting, and architecture. He was the patron of Rubens, Vandyke, Inigo Jones, and other eminent artists; so that, had it not been for the civil wars, he would probably have converted his court and capital into a second Athens; and the collections he made for that purpose, considering his pecuniary difficulties, were stupendous. Charles and his court had little or no relish for poetry; but such was his generosity in encouraging genius and merit of every kind, that he increased the salary of his poet laureat, the famous Ben Jonson, from 100 marks

to 100*l.* per annum, and a tierce of Spanish wine; which salary is continued to this day.

The reign of Charles II. was chiefly distinguished by the great proficiency to which it carried natural knowledge, especially by the institution of the Royal Society. The king was a good judge of those studies, and though irreligious himself, England never more abounded with learning and able divines than in his reign. He loved painting and poetry, but was far more munificent to the former than the latter. The incomparable *Paradise Lost* by Milton, was published in his reign, but was not read or attended to in proportion to its merit; though it was far from being disregarded so much as has been commonly apprehended. The reign of Charles II. notwithstanding the bad taste of his court in several of the polite arts, by some is reckoned the Augustan age in England, and is dignified with the names of Boyle, Halley, Hooke, Sydenham, Harvey, Temple, Tillotson, Barrow, Butler, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Wycherley, and Otway. Sir Christopher Wren introduced a more general regularity, than had ever been known before in architecture. Nor was Sir Christopher Wren merely distinguished by his skill as an architect. His knowledge was very extensive, and his discoveries in philosophy and mechanics, contributed much to the reputation of the new established Royal Society. "A variety of knowledge," says a judicious writer, "proclaims the universality, a multiplicity of works the abundance, and St. Paul's the greatness of Sir Christopher's genius. So many great architects as were employed on St. Peter's have not left upon the whole a more perfect edifice than this work of a single mind. The noblest temple, the largest palace, and the most sumptuous hospital, in such a kingdom as Britain, are all the works of the same hand. He restored London, and recorded its fall. He built about fifty parish churches, and designed the monument*."

The names of Newton and Locke adorned the reign of William III. Newton, leaving behind all former astronomers, surveyed more fully, and established by demonstration that *harmonious* system of the universe, which had been discovered by Copernicus; and Locke, no less wonderful in his walk, untwisted the chain of human ideas, and opened a vista into the mysterious regions of the mind. To him we owe the discovery that *all our ideas are acquired by sensation and reflection*, and consequently that *we brought none into the world with us*. The philosophy of Newton, all founded on experiment and demonstration, can never be sufficiently admired;

* Walpole.

and it particularly merits the attention of every gentleman, as an acquaintance with the principle of *gravitation*, or with the theory of *light* and *colours*, would be sufficient to stamp an indelible mark of ignorance on the most respectable character.

Under the auspices of queen Anne, learning and the polite arts were much improved. Many of the great men, who had figured in the reigns of the Stuarts and William, were still alive and in the full exercise of their faculties, when a new race sprung up, in the republic of learning and the arts. Addison, Prior, Pope, Swift, Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, Arbuthnot, Congreve, Steel, Rowe, and many other excellent writers both in verse and prose, need but to be mentioned to be admired; and the English were as triumphant in literature as in war. To the sweetness of Waller, and the strength of Denham, Pope has added a compass of verse, and an energy that is entirely his own. He made the versification of Dryden his model. And if his compositions have not all the fire of the *Alexander's feast*, the easy vigour of the *Absalom* and *Achitophel*, or the animated flow of the fables of his master, the collected force and finer polish of his numbers, a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and just, though less bold imagery, entitle them to all the praise that can possibly belong to an emulous imitator. The *Rape of the Lock*, the *Eloise to Abelard*, the *Messiah*, and the *Essay on Man*, are the finest poems of their kind in any modern language.

Swift had given perspicuity and conciseness to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactness to the loose, though harmonious periods of Temple; but it was left to Addison to furnish elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He wrote the most admired papers in the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and other publications of the same kind. In those papers he has discussed an infinite variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has treated each so happily, that one would think he had studied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him, not only for words and phrases, but for images, than to any other writer in prose. If his style has any fault, it is want of force. This defect in our prose composition was supplied by lord Bolingbroke, who has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not possible to carry farther the beauty and force of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the sinews of his master; and if Johnson, on some subjects, appears to have more force than Bolingbroke, he is often destitute of ease. His periods are too artificially arranged, and his words
sometimes

sometimes too remote from common use. Sterne excels as a sentimental writer; and the *Adventurer* of Doctor Hawkeſworth is not inferior to the *Rambler* of Dr. Johnson. I ſhall conclude this chapter with the following ſonnet on the progreſs of the Engliſh language.

“ When firſt the infant left the Saxon ſhore,
 “ Rude was her voice and homely her array,
 “ Till Chaucer to the wanton court her bore,
 “ Where jeſts and wiles ſhe learnt and am’rous play.
 “ Then Spencer’s cell the damſel did explore,
 “ Who deck’d her locks with Latian flowrets gay;
 “ And taught to chaunt the viſionary lay,
 “ With fancy’s treaſures fraught and wiſdom’s lore.
 “ What dreams of fancy ſooth’d her youthful breaſt,
 “ When Shakspeare led her to th’ impaſſion’d ſcene!
 “ She hoped no more: till in her Milton bleſt,
 “ Who ſtrength and beauty gave her to convene,
 “ In heavenly arms and heavenly ſplendor dreſt,
 “ She roſe a cherub thro’ the blue ſerene*.”

C H A P. V.

SCOTLAND.

Caledonians—Picts—Scots—Baliol and Bruce—Conduct of Edward I. of England—The Scots invade England—Edward defeats the Scots, and takes the caſtles of Dunbar, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh.

THE Caledonians, who probably derived their origin from the adjacent country of Gaul, were the firſt inhabitants of Scotland. The Picts undoubtedly were the Britons, who were forced northwards by the Belgic Gauls, above fourſcore years before the deſcent of Julius Cæſar; and who ſettling in Scotland were joined by great numbers of their countrymen, that were driven northwards by the Romans: The Scots, moſt probably, were a nation of adventurers from the ancient Scythia, who had ſerved in the armies on the continent, and, after conquering the other inhabitants, gave their own name to the country. The Scots and Picts long continued ſeparate, and the hand of nature had contributed to mark the diſtinction. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter thoſe of the plains†. At length Kenneth II. about the

* Pinkerton. † Buchanan.

middle of the ninth century, completely subdued the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country, from the wall of Adrian to the northern ocean, when his kingdom became known by its present name.

The history of Scotland may properly be divided into four periods. The first reaches from the origin of monarchy, to the reign of Kenneth II. The second from Kenneth's conquest of the Picts, to the death of Alexander III. The third extends to the death of James V. The last, from thence to the accession of James VI. to the crown of England. The first period is the region of pure fable and conjecture, and ought to be totally neglected, or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries. Truth begins to dawn in the second period, with a light, feeble at first, but gradually increasing. In the third period, the history of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preserved in England, becomes more authentic: not only are events related, but their causes and effects explained; the characters of the actors are displayed; the manners of the age described; the revolutions in the constitution pointed out: and here every Scotsman should begin not to read only, but to study the history of his country.

After Kenneth II. the sixty-ninth Scottish king, A. D. 883. according to tradition, had obtained, as I have already observed, a complete victory over the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country at present known by the name of North Britain, the Scots became more formidable. Having less business on their hands at home, they were always ready to join the English malecontents, and made frequent incursions into the bordering counties. In one of these excursions, William, king of Scotland, was taken prisoner; and Henry II. as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ransom, and a promise to surrender the places of greatest strength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I. a more generous but less politic prince than his father, solemnly renounced his claim of homage, and absolved William from the other hard conditions which Henry had imposed. The crown of Scotland was therefore again rendered independent, and the northern potentate only did homage for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England, (a circumstance which has occasioned many mistakes, and much dispute among historians) in the same manner as the king of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. But on the A. D. 1286. death of Alexander III. near a century after the captivity of William, Edward I. availing himself

of the situation of affairs in Scotland, revived the claim of sovereignty which had been renounced by Richard.

This is the real state of the controversy concerning the independency of Scotland, which took its rise about this time, and in the following manner. As Alexander left no male issue, nor any descendant except Margaret of Norway, his granddaughter, who did not long survive him, the right of succession belonged to the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, third son of king David I. Of that line two illustrious competitors for the crown appeared. Robert Bruce, son of Isabel, earl David's second daughter; and John Baliol, grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter. According to the rules of succession now established, Baliol's right was preferable: he would succeed as the representative of his mother and grand-mother; and Bruce's plea of being one degree nearer the common stock, would be disregarded. But in that age the question appeared no less intricate than important: the sentiments of men were divided: each claim was supported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared, must terminate a dispute too weighty for the laws to decide.

In this critical situation the parliament of Scotland, in order to avoid the miseries of civil war, embraced the dangerous resolution of appealing to Edward I. He was accordingly chosen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquiesce in his decree. Now it was that this ambitious and enterprising prince, already master of Wales, resolved more determinedly to make himself lord of the whole island of Britain, by reviving his obscure claim of feudal superiority over Scotland. Under pretence of examining the question with the utmost solemnity, he summoned all the Scottish barons to attend him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern bank of the Tweed; and having gained some, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were present, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the succession, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the English crown, and swear fealty to him as their sovereign or liege lord.*

Notwithstanding all the arts and power of Edward, there is great reason to believe that he did not carry his point without strong opposition. We are told that the bishop of Glasgow, particularly, in one of the meetings, made a distinction between Edward's quality as umpire, which he was ready to acknowledge, and that of being lord paramount of Scotland, which, he said, was an unjust, absurd, and new-invented claim. We know not what effect this prelate's boldness pro-

* Rymer.

duced, farther than that Edward grew very cautious in his proceedings. Though the decision lay in his own breast, yet he thought proper to proceed by commissioners; and he promised to grant letters-patent, declaring that sentence should be given in Scotland. It had been all along foreseen, that the great dispute would lie between Baliol and Bruce. Though the plea of Cumming was thought frivolous, yet he was a party of too much consideration to be entirely disregarded; and he agreed tacitly to resign it in favour of Baliol. Edward accordingly made him the compliment of joining him with Baliol, in nominating forty commissioners. Bruce was to name forty more, and the names of the fourscore were to be given to Edward in three days; upon which he was to add to them twenty-four of his own nomination. Thus the whole board of commissioners, or, as they are called, tryers, was to consist of an hundred and four persons, whose names were given to Edward on the fifth of June. He left the place, and time of meeting, to their own option. They unanimously pitched upon Berwic, because it lay within the confines of Scotland; but disagreeing as to the time, Edward fixed their meeting to the second of August following. On the eleventh of June, the regents of Scotland, who seem hitherto to have acted in consequence of their original appointment by the states, upon the death of Alexander the Third, resigned their commissions to the king; but he returned them, with powers to act in his name; and nominated the bishop of Caithness to be chancellor of Scotland, but joined with him in commission Walter de Hamondesham, an Englishman, one of his own secretaries. The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of June were spent in the chancellor, the regents, the chief nobility, the magistrates, the governors of forts in Scotland, and other Scotchmen, taking an oath of allegiance to Edward.

When we consider the impetuous temper of that prince, it is easy to perceive, that this process did not go entirely to his mind. Many of his own great men, the earl of Gloucester in particular, were, by no means, fond of seeing his power already too great, increased by the acquisition of Scotland, at which they knew he ultimately aimed. He disliked the promise he had made for pronouncing sentence in Scotland; nor were the letters-patent for that purpose made out till the twelfth of June, which was six days after the congress at Berwic was agreed on. He thought this was a matter of so much importance; that, after having buried his mother, who died in the intermediate time, he removed, together with the commissioners, on the third of July, to Berwic, where he made a protestation, in which he declared, "That though
" he

he had granted that the affair of the succession should be tried in Scotland, yet he did not thereby intend to prejudice the right which he had in the like, or any other case, to exercise justice in England hereafter, touching affairs which might relate to Scotland." This protestation being made, we are told by the English historians, that Edward made a tour to the principal towns and cities in the south of Scotland, where he courted popularity among the inhabitants; and on the 3d of August he met the commissioners at Berwick.

By this time the candidates, chiefly through Edward's intrigues, amounted to twelve; and each presented to the board his petition, setting forth the ground of his claim. The truth is, the pleas of most of the claimants were so false and frivolous, that they must have had unusual encouragement before they could venture to enter them. I shall not, therefore, repeat them, farther than putting the reader in mind, that the mother of Bruce, daughter to David, earl of Huntingdon, had a younger sister, Ada, who, had been married to Henry Hastings, an English nobleman, lord of Abergraveny. If the crown of Scotland, therefore, was a divisible fee, like that of England, Hastings might very plausibly urge that he was, in right of his mother, entitled to one third of the kingdom, as she ought to be joint-heiress with her two sisters. All the claimants having delivered in their respective pretensions, Edward alledged, that they were so various and perplexing, that there was a necessity for adjourning the farther consideration of the cause to the 2d of June. This adjournment was necessary for Edward's views. He had not A. D. 1292, been yet able to fix the point he had at heart, which was, whether the question relating to Scotland was to be determined as those regarding the great fees in England? The better to smooth his way, and to give an irretrievable blow to the independency of Scotland, he issued a writ, declaring the two kingdoms, by virtue of his superiority, to be united.

The commissioners having met on the 2d of June, ambassadors from Norway presented themselves in the assembly, demanding that their master should be admitted into the number of the claimants, as father, and next heir to the late queen. This demand too was admitted by Edward, after the ambassadors had acknowledged his superiority over Scotland. The claims thus multiplying, Edward proposed that those of Bruce and Baliol should be previously examined, but without prejudice to those of the other competitors. This being agreed to, he ordered the commissioners to examine by what laws they ought to proceed.

in forming their report. The discussion of this question was attended with such difficulty, and the opinions upon it were so various, that Edward adjourned the assembly to the twelfth of October following, to give the members farther time to deliberate, and himself an opportunity of consulting foreign lawyers.

The assembly being held to its prorogation, Edward, on the 14th of October, required the members to give their opinions on the two following points: First, by what laws and customs they ought to proceed to judgment; and supposing there could be no law or precedent found in the two kingdoms, in what manner? Secondly, whether the kingdom of Scotland ought to be taken in the same view as all other fiefs, and to be awarded in the same manner as earldoms and baronies? The answer of the commissioners to the first was, That Edward ought to give justice conformable to the usage of the two kingdoms; but that if no certain laws or precedents could be found, he might, by the advice of his great men, enact a new law. In answer to the second question they said, That the succession to the kingdom might be awarded in the same manner as to other estates and baronies.

No sooner had the commissioners made their decisions on those points, than Edward ordered Baliol and Bruce to be called before him; and he demanded whether they had any thing farther to offer in support of their claims. Bruce urged the indivisibility of the crown of Scotland, and that it was not subject to the common law of inheritance established in England. He proved, from the history of Scotland, that collaterals in the nearest degree had been commonly preferred to the crown; and he maintained, that standing as he did in the same degree as Dervegild did from the earl of Huntingdon, he was to be preferred to her, as being the male descendent. Baliol, on the other hand, insisted upon his mother's right of primogeniture, and appealed to what had been done by William Rufus, who placed Edgar on the throne of Scotland, and had dethroned Donald Bane, brother to Malcolm Canmore. Such, and many more, were the arguments urged by these two competitors, each to make good his claim. Edward, all this time, acted with the greatest seeming impartiality and caution; and at last he brought the question under the following heads: First, whether the more remote by one degree in succession, coming from the eldest sister, ought, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer by one degree, coming from the second sister? Secondly, whether the nearer by one degree, descending from the second sister, ought, by the laws and customs of these kingdoms, to exclude the

the more remote by a degree, coming from the eldest sister?

Edward recommended the greatest deliberation to the commissioners before they returned their answer to the above questions. The process was again reviewed, and solemn debates were held; but at last, the commissioners pronounced, that, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, the descendants of the eldest daughter were to be preferred. This decision plainly gave the priority to Baliol; but Edward refused to pronounce sentence till the 6th of November following, when he gave it directly against Bruce. But though Bruce was thus excluded from the crown, the contest was far from being finished. Edward pretended, that the setting aside the claims of Bruce was far from establishing those of Baliol, till such time as the titles of the other competitors were discussed likewise; but the whole affair soon took a new turn.

Bruce, finding himself precluded from the sovereignty, in the manner above expressed, declared that he had another plea to offer, which was, that Scotland ought not to be considered as an indivisible fee. Though this was directly in opposition to the arguments he had formerly urged, yet he certainly had a right to make use of it, nor is it very easy to conceive how Edward could evade it, but by supposing that he could not bring the commissioners to espouse that opinion. Bruce was supported in his plea by Hastings, whose pretensions, supposing the divisibility of the fee, were the same with his. Edward, to keep up his character of moderation and impartiality, ordered the commissioners to examine whether the kingdom of Scotland was a divisible fee: but their answer was in the negative; and the indivisibility of it was established accordingly. The commissioners found likewise, that the acquisitions made in that country by the king ceased, the moment they came into his hands, to be divisible. This peremptory opinion entirely cut off the claims of Bruce and Hastings; and those of the other competitors were so ill supported, that they were withdrawn by themselves. Cumming was not present at the time of this decision, and his claim was annulled likewise.

Baliol may be now said to be without a competitor; and Edward fixed the 19th of November, 1292, to pronounce final judgment in his favour. It was as follows: "The king of England, as superior and direct lord of Scotland, adjudged that the said John Baliol should recover and have seisin of that kingdom, with all its appurtenances, according to the form of his petition, upon condition that he should rightly and justly govern the people subject to him, that none might have occasion to complain for want of

"justice; nor the king, as superior lord of the kingdom; upon the suit of the parties, be hindered to interpose his authority and direction; a right which the king of England and his heirs always reserved in such cases, when he would make use of it." According to the English historians*, the earl of Gloucester was so shocked at the proceedings and dissimulation of Edward, in the whole of this affair, that he could not stifle his indignation, but exclaimed against him, in a very bitter manner; though I cannot see with what propriety, admitting the decision to have been conformable to the laws and succession of England. The Scots on the other hand, have at all times endeavoured to invalidate the principle upon which the decision was founded; for they tell, that that mode of succession was not then established in Scotland; and they urge, with much better reason, that Edward was fundamentally wrong in all the proofs he brought of his supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland. Edward accompanied his decision with some words, addressed to the new king, importing, that if he did not behave well in the trust he had conferred on him, he should feel that he had a superior to whom his people might apply. He then appointed the 20th of November for Baliol's taking the oath of allegiance at Norham, and the 26th of December for his performing homage for the kingdom of Scotland at Newcastle. The English records take notice, that Edward's chamberlain could bring no precedent for ascertaining the fees he was to take of Baliol; upon which they were fixed by Edward himself in parliament, at twenty pounds, which is double those that were paid by an earl. The writ of seisin, which put Baliol in possession of the Scotch crown, was dated the 19th of November, and directed to William and Robert, bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; John Cumming, James, high-steward of Scotland; and Bryan Fitz-Allan, guardians of the realm.

The behaviour of Bruce, during this competition, has been differently represented. It is certain that he urged in his favour the repeated declarations of Alexander the Third, that he intended to leave him his crown, if he should die without issue of his own; but such representations can be supposed to have had no weight with Edward; and Bruce being the first of the Scotch competitors who offered to sacrifice the independency of his country, we can have no high idea of his patriotism.

As to Baliol, he went directly to Scone, where he received the crown, and was recognized by all the nobility, except-

* Hollingshed.

ing Bruce, who was absent. He then returned to Newcastle, and performed his homage to Edward for the crown, of Scotland in the most ample terms; which Edward took care should be recorded by letters-patent, and properly attested * by the greatest subject of the two kingdoms. Baliol soon found that Edward's real design was to render him a cypher, and to engross even the executive power of his nominal kingdom. He saw that he had forfeited the hearts of his own subjects, even of those who had followed his example in his shameful submissions; and that they durst not trust him; yet he hoped to regain their confidence by a more spirited behaviour; but he found himself mistaken. Edward reserved a power in his own breast, of explaining his paramount rights in what sense he pleased, and carrying them even into a claim of property. He renewed the distinction between his engagements as umpire, and his rights of superiority; and that all his promises, relating to the former, were now ceased, while those of the latter remained in full force.

As being direct lord of Scotland, Edward had appointed certain officers of his own to reside there, and superintend his affairs. Some of them had injured one Roger Bartholomew, a burgher of Berwic, who complained to Edward of the behaviour of his officers; and the king and nobility of Scotland resolved to make his complaint a common cause. Edward, as usual, referred the complaint to his judges, of whom Brabazon, the professed enemy of Scotland, was chief justice of the king's bench; but with a peremptory order, that the matter should be determined according to the laws of England, which in reality superseded the operations of the laws of Scotland, where the facts complained of were committed. This reference being intimated to Baliol, he ordered the bishop of St. Andrew's, the earl of Buchan, Patrick de Graham, Thomas Randolph, and others of his nobility, to present a petition in his name to the English judges, complaining of their king's procedure, and setting forth his engagements to observe the laws and customs of Scotland, and that the pleas concerning things done there, should not be drawn out of that realm; praying withal that Edward would observe his promises, and enjoin his officers to conform themselves to the same.

* "My lord Edward, king of England, superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, I John de Baliol, king of Scotland, being your liegeman for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with its appurtenances which kingdom I claim and hold, and of right ought to hold, for me and my heirs kings of Scotland hereditary of you and your heirs kings of England, of life and limb, and terrene honour, against all men that may live and die."

So tame a method of proceeding, as that by petition, was no favourable omen of success. Brabançon's answer was full of haughtiness. He said, that Edward's officers were representatives of his own person, and that, therefore, the cognizance of every thing relating to their conduct, belonged only to him and his laws. Edward, in full parliament, justified Brabançon's doctrine; declared that all the promises he had made with regard to Scotland, were to be considered only as temporary and determinable with the occasion; that they could not affect his rights of superiority and direct dominion, which entitled him (if he pleased) to judge of the complaints of all its inhabitants, of whatever nature they were. Soon after, Edward confirmed this declaration in his own council-chamber, before Baliol, and some of the chief nobility of both kingdoms, adding, that if he thought proper, he would oblige even the king of Scotland to answer in person at the bar of his tribunal. Baliol thought it neither proper nor safe to reply to Edward; but he had a more bitter draught still to swallow. Edward was not insensible that after the solemn promises and engagements he had made, his conduct would bear a very odious aspect even to his own subjects. He knew that the state to which he wanted to reduce Scotland, as a fee, was not warranted by the feudal law, either of England or France, where the holders of great fees never suffered causes, excepting in cases of forfeiture or the like, to be carried out of their own courts into those of their superiors. Even the dukes of Brittany, though a fee to Normandy, which was of itself a fee to the crown of France, did not suffer pleas to be carried out of their own courts; nor would Edward himself as duke of Normandy, suffer a cause belonging to his jurisdiction to be moved to the courts of his paramount, the king of France. Edward was sensible of all this; but he continued to alledge, that the fourth preliminary treaty of the intended marriage between his son and the queen of Scotland, importing that the laws and customs of Scotland should remain entire, and that pleas of things done there might not be drawn out of it, had been made when there was a near prospect of the union of the two crowns by marriage; that upon the failure of that marriage, the direct dominion of Scotland reverted to Edward; that he was at liberty to use it as he pleased; and that all his posterior engagements had been fulfilled, and were determined. Upon the whole, he insisted upon John renouncing, by his letters patent, for himself and his successors, all the promises, concessions, agreements, and ratifications made by Edward, as king of England, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland; or, in other words, that he and his subjects should give him a full acquittance and discharge of all his former promises.

promises. John and his nobility found it in vain to contend, and the release was accordingly signed A. D. 1293. by them on the 2d of January.

The triumph of Edward over the Scots was not yet complete, for he had not yet brought John to the bar of his tribunal to answer as a delinquent; but he was soon gratified even in that. One Mason, a Gascon merchant, claimed a debt of 2197l. 8s. sterling, that had been contracted by Alexander the Third, and which Baliol had not paid. Edward laid hold of this complaint, (though we know not how far Baliol was obliged to pay Alexander the Third's debts) to send him a summons, dated March the 1st, for his appearance at Westminster, the day following the Ascension. But a more important cause succeeded.

During the time of the interregnum, Edward, by virtue of the powers granted him by the competitors and regents of Scotland, had sent an order, commanding the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the other guardians, to restore to Macduff, the young earl of Fife, certain lands of which he had been dispossessed by the regency. Macduff accordingly, during the time of Edward's progress in Scotland, re-entered into possession of the lands. When the Scotch parliament met, Macduff's antagonists (according to Fordun) compelled him to appear before it; and Baliol was of opinion, that Macduff's proceeding had been irregular, as the dispute was only cognizable before himself and his courts. Some have said that Macduff was even imprisoned, after being again stripped of his lands. It appears however, by records, that he brought a complaint before Edward, against the injustice done him by John. There is some reason for believing that Edward favoured Macduff, on purpose to have full satisfaction as to the great point he aimed at. He ordered Baliol to be summoned by the sheriff of Northumberland, to appear before himself, in whatever part of England he might be, the day before Trinity. Baliol paid no regard to this summons; and another was issued, commanding him to appear at the parliament to be held at Westminster, fifteen days after Michaelmas. He had not the spirit to withstand this order, but took his seat in parliament, as king of Scotland. Macduff was present at the same time, and appeared as plaintiff; upon which Baliol was compelled to descend from his bench, and plead his own cause in court, as an ordinary party. In answer to the charge of contumacy against him, for not appearing to the first summons, he urged, that he was obliged to take the sense of his people in all matters relating to the kingdom of Scotland. Edward, who does not seem to have expected such an answer from Baliol, wanted to soothe him, and offered to give him

more time; but Baliol still persisted in demurring to the jurisdiction of the court. Upon this he was pronounced to be contumacious; and it was adjudged that three of his castles, Berwic, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be sequestrated into Edward's hands, till he should return to his duty.

From the opposition made by Baliol on this occasion, it is probable, that he had promises of being supported: but every step he took was either unsafe, or imprudent. He had put himself into Edward's power; and, after that he, in fact, retracted the concessions he had formerly made. He had not the resolution to persevere; for when Edward was about to have pronounced sentence, Baliol attended him in council, and petitioned for farther time, till he could consult with his nobles, promising to appear at the first English parliament held after Easter following. Edward, with the consent of Macduff, granted Baliol this indulgence; but the latter was at this time served with no fewer than eight summonses to appear before Edward, on the like pleas. We are told by Fordun, that Baliol at first desired to be heard by his attorneys or counsel: but that favour was denied him by Edward, till such time as he should come to the bar, and plead in person; to which he was obliged to submit.

After the indulgence granted to Baliol, he was to answer to the other complaints then depending against him. One was from a lady who claimed the Isle of Man, in which Baliol had been invested by Edward; and meeting with a repulse, she appealed to Edward, who ordered Baliol to appear before him. The abbot of Reading claimed, by virtue of a donation from David king of Scotland, the small island of May, which lies in the mouth of the Forth; and not receiving satisfaction, Baliol was in like manner summoned on that account.

Baliol must have been worse than insensible, had he not felt so many repeated injuries and affronts; but he had now forfeited all his credit in both nations; and his parliament of Scotland, before he left England, had chosen a regency of twelve noblemen for managing the public affairs during their king's absence. Though Baliol could not be pleased with this step, yet he departed abruptly out of England; and when he appeared in Scotland, gave vent to all the indignation he had conceived at his treatment from Edward; but he had still a resource by which he hoped to recover all the credit and interest he had lost.

Philip of Valois then filled the throne of France; and, for reasons foreign to this history, was on very bad terms with Edward. Though Baliol had consented to assist Edward vigorously in his war with France; yet Edward during his
whole

whole reign, postponed all considerations that interfered with the prosecution of his claims upon Scotland. He again called upon Baliol to give in his answer to Macduff's complaints, in the parliament that was to meet at St. Edmund's-bury. Baliol, instead of appearing in person, sent the abbot of Aberbrothwick, with some other noblemen of his party, not only to give his reasons why he did not appear, but to demand satisfaction for the insults and injuries he and his subjects had received from those of Edward. The latter was not then in a situation to resent this proceeding as he inclined, and seemed willing to make some concessions. He informed the deputies, that he was soon to visit the northern parts, and that their master should then have justice done him as to his complaints; but, in the mean time, he peremptorily insisted upon his appearing before him in person at Newcastle upon Tyne, to answer Macduff's complaints, with the other matters that had been urged against him.

Baliol's declining to appear before Edward in person, was owing to the determination of his states, whom he consulted, and who were of opinion, that he ought not to submit to such an indignity; neither could Edward charge him with a breach of faith, since all he promised was to consult his people; and to obey the summons, if they thought proper. His persevering in his refusal to appear, and continuing to insist on satisfaction, determined Edward to have recourse to arms; but at the same time it gave Baliol some consideration in the eyes of his subjects. Edward's growing power had produced a confederacy against him upon the continent of Europe, at the head of which was Philip king of France, who had for some time held a private correspondence with Baliol, to know how far he was disposed to enter into the measures against Edward. Baliol though heartily exasperated, durst not publicly declare himself, till he was sure of being supported by his subjects; but, in the mean time, the confederacy against Edward went on prosperously. Among the other princes who entered into it was Eric king of Norway, who, (if we are to believe the French historians) received 30,000 l. sterling from Philip; and by a treaty still in their charters, obliged himself to assist Philip with a hundred gallies well manned, and fifty thousand land troops. This treaty, however, never was executed. Another party was the duke of Austria and the dauphin of Vienne; and so intent was Edward upon the affairs of Scotland, that he suffered himself to be stript of great part of his French possessions, even while he and his brother, the duke of Cornwall, were negotiating a definitive treaty, and were cajoled by the court of France. It must, however, be owned that the insidious conduct of Philip was indefensible;

sible; and, when it came to be known, it raised a very high indignation among all Edward's English subjects, so that they resolved to support their sovereign to the utmost. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping in England; and Edward by a mandate required, in virtue of his parliament authority, that the same should be done in Scotland. Baliol, who was as yet in no condition to declare himself publicly, was obliged not only to agree to this shameful order, but to consent that three year's rent of his great estate in England should be applied to carry on the war against France. By this last concession, it appears, that his English estate, though not forfeited, remained still sequestrated.

When Edward was ready to embark for France, at the head of a great army, he received undoubted intelligence of the private negotiation carrying on between Baliol and Philip de Valois. Upon this, he gave the command of his great army to his nephew the earl of Richmond, and remained in person in England to attend the motions of the Scots and the Welch, who, encouraged by the unfavourable situation of his affairs abroad, were already in arms. Baliol had now regained so much credit with his subjects, that a French ambassador appeared in Scotland, and openly demanded the renewal of the ancient leagues, between the two nations, and assistance against the king of England. Edward, at the same time, by his ambassador, as superior lord of Scotland, required aid against the king of France. The respective demands of the ambassadors were debated before the states of Scotland, and their determination went in favour of France; or, in other words, they were resolved to shake off the yoke of Edward. Plenipotentiaries were accordingly named to repair to the French court, and a commission for that purpose was made out at Stirling, on the 5th of July; A.D. 1295. to William bishop of St. Andrew's; Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld; sir John Soulis; and sir Ingram Umfreville. Upon their arrival in France, a secret treaty, bearing date the 25th of October following, was concluded between them and that king. The contents were as follow: 1. That Baliol's son Edward should marry the daughter of the king of France's brother, Charles de Valois, earl of Anjou. 2. That Edward shall receive with the same lady, the sum of 25,000 livres, of Tournay currency; that he shall have a jointure of 1,500 l. sterling; 1000 l. thereof to be yearly paid out of king John's lands, at Dampetre, Helicourt, and de Harney in France; and 500 l. out of those of Lanerk, Cadion, Cunningham, Haddington, and Castellany of Dundee, in Scotland. 3. That Baliol, his heirs and successors, should assist the king of France,

France, in the present war against the king of England, and all his confederates, particularly the emperor of Germany, both by sea and land; and that he should invade England, as often as the English should attack France: 4. That the stipulations of the present treaty should be solemnly ratified, by all the states and communities in Scotland, and transmitted to France. 5. That the king of France should reciprocally make a war of diversion upon the English, whenever they should invade Scotland; and, if required, send auxiliary troops to Scotland, at his own expence. That as soon as Edward should head his army, or send it abroad, Baliol should, with all his force, enter England, take its towns, and destroy the country. 7. That neither party should make peace without consent of the other. This treaty seems to have been the foundation of the many ruinous connections into which the Scots afterwards entered with France. It is true, they had, upon occasions, acted in concert against England, but their engagements had not been so express and precise; nor does it appear, that, before this time, the Scots had ever laid it down as an invariable maxim in their politics, to follow the fate of France in all events. It was with a sensible displeasure that Edward received intelligence of those engagements; but he dissembled his resentment with wonderful art. He sent the abbot of New Minster and Welbeck to acquaint Baliol of his having prorogued the meeting of his parliament, and of his intention to repair to the northern counties; but to demand likewise, that as he had entered into war with France, the castles of Berwic, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be put into his hands during the continuance of the war. The Scotch and English historians are unanimous in saying, that this demand was not complied with, but a record published by a respectable historian * gives some reason to believe that Baliol would have given them up, partly through fear, and partly through a scruple of conscience, on account of the oath he had taken to Edward, from which he was not yet absolved. The last might have been the true motive for Baliol, at this time, resigning up to the states of Scotland the exercise of his power. We are told that they chose twelve guardians, and formed a seal for the community of Scotland; that Baliol himself consented to all this, and to ratify the late treaty with France. In this he was greatly assisted by Philip, who prevailed upon pope Celestine to absolve him from his oath of allegiance and fealty to Edward, which was no sooner done than he resolved to act without farther reserve.

* Rymer.

Early in the following year, Edward marched A. D. 1296. northwards, at the head of a numerous army; and, on the first of March, he held his parliament at Newcastle upon Tyne. From thence he renewed his summons for Baliol to appear before him; but he was answered by the almost unanimous voice of the Scots, that neither their king nor they owed him farther allegiance; and to shew that they were in earnest, they drove out of their country all Englishmen, ecclesiastics as well as laics, and appropriated their estates and effects for carrying on the war with England. A breach was now inevitable, and Edward marching to Bamborough, again summoned Baliol, by proclamation, to appear before him, but all in vain; and a very singular incident first lighted the flames of a war, in which Scotland was almost consumed. The castle of Wark, in Northumberland, was then held by Robert de Ros, for Edward. This nobleman was a subject of Scotland, and being desperately enamoured of a Scotch lady, he abandoned Edward, and joined with his enemies. Intelligence of his revolt was brought to Edward by his brother William de Ros, who undertook to secure the castle with a thousand men, whom Edward immediately granted him. On his march to the castle, he quartered at a place called Prestfen, where being surprised by his brother Robert, he and his party were cut off, and the Scots became masters of the castle. Edward pretended that he was more pleased with the Scots beginning hostilities, than he was sorry for the loss of the place, and he set out to recover it; but in the mean time he received in a letter the renunciation of Baliol's allegiance.

Edward was presented with this renunciation by the hands of the intrepid Henry, abbot of Aberbrothwick; and he no sooner received it, than he broke out into an exclamation to the following purpose: "How foolishly does this stupid son of mine behave! Well, if he will not come to us, we will go to him *." The abbot had been persuaded by his enemies, of whom he had many in Scotland, to present this letter, in hopes that Edward would have put him to death; but he had address enough to escape safe out of his hands, without receiving any other answer.

Edward saw all the plan which he had laid down, for making Baliol his lieutenant in Scotland, with a royal title, vanish into smoke; and he had now no other resource for dividing the Scots among themselves, than to gain over Bruce and his interest. This Bruce was the son of the original competitor of that name, who was now dead, and earl of Carric in his

* Fordun.

wife's right; and he had a son, the famous Robert Bruce, who afterwards proved the hero of his age and country, but was then no more than thirteen years of age. Edward sent for the elder Bruce, and offered him the crown of Scotland on the same terms that he had given it to Baliol. Bruce readily accepted the offer; and, with his young son, performed homage to Edward, as did the earl of March and Dunbar, and Umfreville earl of Angus. The elder Bruce was a great favourite with Edward, and he was prevailed upon to write to all his party in Scotland, to be ready to declare for the king of England. Mean time, the earls of Menteith, Athol, Strathern, and Mar, had raised an army of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, most of them Highlanders; and marching through Annandale, destroyed the English border to the very suburbs of Carlisle, which they burnt, and then laid siege to the town itself. One of their spies had been taken and imprisoned within the place; and after he had set fire to his prison, he broke out of it, and running to the walls, called aloud to his countrymen to pursue their advantage. The flames had now alarmed the townsmen. Some of them ran to extinguish the fire, and others to repel the Scots, in which they were so vigorously assisted by the women, that the flames were got under, and the siege was raised.

Notwithstanding the late treaty between Scotland and France, Philip de Valois had made a truce with Edward, and left the Scots to bear all the brunt of his irresistible armaments by sea and land. Berwic was his great object; and the earl of Fife still remaining in England, Baliol had raised the inhabitants of that country, who, with the people of Lothian, formed the chief strength of the garrison of Berwic. The defence they made was very brave; for we are told that they burnt eighteen of the English ships, and put all their crews to the sword, in one assault which they made upon the town. Edward, who was as great a general as he was a politician, removed his lines to a considerable distance, and employed some of the Brucean party to inform their countrymen upon the walls, that Edward, despairing of taking the town, was resolved to raise the siege, especially as Baliol was advancing with a great army to the relief of the place. All this was believed by the besieged, who, in a day or two, saw a large detachment of the English army, habited like their countrymen, and carrying the ensigns of Scotland, approach their walls. The credulous garrison believed them to be Scots; and marching out to receive them, the English (or, rather the Scotch in the English army) getting between them and the walls, secured one of the gates, which had been thrown open. The main body of the English army immediately
rushed

rushed in, and an indiscriminate carnage followed. English writers have, to the reproach of their own country, mounted the number slain on this occasion to sixteen thousand. Fordun himself admits of seven thousand five hundred; and he says, that the Fife nobility, were, that day, almost exterminated. Edward's barbarity even by the accounts most favourable to his memory, was inexcusable, for he spared neither age nor sex. Some English historians endeavour to palliate his barbarity, by pretending that the town was taken by storm; but the relations of the Scotch seem to be more authentic. Edward, being master of the place, annexed it for ever to the realm of England, and drew round it a large palisaded ditch.

Whatever Edward's views might have been hitherto, he proceeded, after the taking of Berwic, as if he had been determined to conquer Scotland. The castle of Berwic surrendered on the first of May, at which time a strong detachment of Edward's army had invested the castle of Dunbar. The earl of that title had, as we have already seen, submitted to Edward; but his wife, to make an atonement for her husband's defection from his duty, had put the castle into the hands of her countrymen. As Dunbar, next to Berwic, was the greatest bulwark of Scotland towards England, Baliol resolved to risk every thing to relieve it. A party of the Scots, under the earls of Cassilis and Menteith, had just then returned, with great booty, from an irruption they had made into Northumberland, and had joined the Scotch army under Baliol; but it was no way comparable, in point of discipline, to that of Edward, who still remained at Berwic, and had committed the conduct of the siege to the earls of Surry and Warwic. Those noblemen drew their army out of their trenches, and a bloody battle was fought in sight of the castle. The event was fatal to the Scots, who there lost above ten thousand men (the English authors say twenty thousand); upon which the castle of Dunbar was surrendered by its governor, Stewart. It appears, from the best authorities, that Edward was not present in this battle; but a number of Scotch noblemen, particularly William earl of Ross, who had escaped out of the battle of Berwic, being found in the castle of Dunbar, they were delivered up like sheep to be butchered by the king of England. From Dunbar the English army advanced to Roxburgh, the castle of which was held by the high-steward of Scotland, who capitulated, upon the lives, liberties, and estates of the garrison being safe, and himself recognizing Edward's paramount power.

The two severe blows which the Scots had received at Berwic and Dunbar, the reduction of those places, the submission

mission of the great steward of Scotland, the defection of Bruce and his party, with Edward's other successes, rendered it more than probable, that he would have little difficulty in reducing the rest of that kingdom. He had appointed Englishmen to the government of the three castles he had taken; and all his steps indicated, that he was resolved to hold what he should conquer. Bruce, apprehensive of this, after the siege of Dunbar, put Edward in mind of his promise to make him king; but he was peevishly answered by that prince, "Have we nothing to do but to win kingdoms for thee *." Bruce was too well acquainted with the character of Edward to press him farther; and, without shewing any resentment, he retired to his English estate, not daring to appear in Scotland. From Roxburgh Edward proceeded to Edinburgh, and laid siege to its castle, which, by its situation was then deemed to be impregnable; but the water of the garrison failing, it was abandoned by the Scots, and Edward took possession of it, after a siege of eight days, leaving the government of it to Walter de Huntercumb. The strong castle of Stirling shared the same fate, being likewise deserted by its garrison.

Baliol, by this time, had retired to the north of the Tay with the remains of his army, and Edward soon stript him of those of his mock-royalty, by reducing Perth, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; after which he prepared to march against Baliol, who was then at Forfar. Cumming, lord of Strabolgy, though attached to Baliol, had always behaved so, that he stood fair with Edward, and Baliol now employed him to make his peace with that conqueror. According to Fordun, whose authority is equal to that of the English historians, who relate the transaction with a few trifling variations, Baliol and his son Edward had fled as far north as Aberdeen; and it is probable that Edward sent the bishop of Durham thither, to prescribe to him the terms of his pardon, with the manner in which he was to appear before his sovereign. These were mortifying to the last degree, but they were accepted of by the mean spirited Baliol. Here he stript himself of all his regal ornaments, and being mounted upon a sorry nag, with a white rod in his hand, as one of Edward's sub-officers he was carried to Montrose, (some say to Strickathroe) where Edward was; and in the open church-yard he acknowledged himself deeply penitent for the unlawful confederacies he had entered into with Philip king of France, which, in his own and his son Edward's name, and in that of the whole community of Scotland, he absolutely renounced,

* Fordun.

as being contrary to his oaths of homage and fealty to the crown of England.

This abject ceremony was publicly performed by Baliol in other places, and at last, the particulars of it were engrossed in an instrument signed by the bishops of Durham and Hereford, the earl of Buchan, Hugh de Spencer, and Cumming the elder, earl of Badenock and Strabolgy. All those mortifications were not sufficient to satisfy Edward. He dragged his captive at the wheels of his triumphal car round the country; he commanded the great seal of Scotland to be broken, and that none should be used for Scotch affairs but that of England.

The terror of Edward's arms made him imagine, that little was now wanting to the permanent subjection of Scotland. Meeting with no opposition in his tour to Elgin, he returned to Scone, which he considered as the sanctuary of the Scotch monarchy; and there he began his destructive operations, by seizing upon their coronation chair, which had, even in those days, obtained the name of fatal. The crown, the regalia, the royal jewels and plate, were seized at the same time, as was the diamond cross, which belonged to Edgar Atheling; and all were sent off to England, where the fatal chair is still to be seen in the Abbey of Westminster. After that, he ordered all the nobility and freeholders of the kingdom to attend him at Berwick, where they renewed their homage and fealty.

CHAP. VI.

Achievements and Character of Wallace—The celebrated Robert Bruce—Battle of Bannockburn—Death and character of Robert—Universal prevalence of the Feudal System at this period.

UPON Edward's return to England, after those arrangements, the Scotch discovered symptoms of impatience under the yoke. Cressingham and Ormesby proved to be tyrants. The former was a priest and the latter a lawyer, who prosecuted with the utmost severity all the Scots who refused to swear fealty to Edward. The natives of Scotland, at this time, may be considered as taking leave of their independency with a parting sigh, when a "patriotic hero stepped forth to reunite them."

His name was William Wallace *. Some say he was the son of sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, and others of sir Andrew Wallace of Cragie. The difference may be interesting to the two families, but it never can be so to the public, as Wallace could derive no lustre from them, however they might be ennobled by him. According to the best accounts, he was the second son of sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, descended from an old family in Kyle; and thus he had the glory of owing his fame to no pre-eminence of fortune, but his own virtue and valour. The circumstances of his country sufficiently vindicate his conduct. Scotland was then without a king and without laws; at least she had none, that a free-born Scotchman could recognize. Wallace seems to have considered himself as having no relation but to his country, and as being bound to no duty but to restore her independency. Robust, active, and brave, he connected himself with a few friends who disdained the claims of England; and by a self-delegated authority, he and his party took every opportunity of destroying the English, as vermin that were preying on the vitals of their country. Frequent exploits of that kind soon rendered the name of Wallace conspicuous, and the spirit of liberty reanimated the youth of Scotland.

Wallace and his patriotic friends, in undertaking the deliverance of Scotland, knew that if they were not successful, they must die the death of traitors; and that the exercise of humanity would not alleviate their punishment. They therefore gave no quarter to the enslavers of their country who resisted them; and their exploits soon roused the attention of their tyrants. The English garrisons were on all hands attacked and put to the sword; and, at last, Lanerk, a principal town of Clydesdale, was recovered from Edward, its governor being killed. The reputation of the Scotch arms was now revived under Wallace, who was deemed to be invincible from the great exploits he performed in his own person. He went to the northwards of the Frith of Forth, the ancient seat of the Scotch monarchy, where he found the inhabitants well affected to the cause of liberty; and there he recovered the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, with as much facility as Edward had taken them. The castle of Dunotter, which at that time was deemed to be impregnable from its situation, received a Scotch garrison; and the English despairing to hold Aberdeen, set it on flames at the time that Wallace entered it. It was then he heard that

* His true name was William Walays; and from the country where he was born, he appears to have been descended from the Welch or ancient Britons. He is said to have left a daughter, who was married to Baillie of Hoprig, one of the ancestors of the Baillies of Lamington.

the English army was preparing to take possession of the pass of Stirling, which Wallace resolved to prevent. The rapidity of his victories and the frequency of his exploits, have disordered the chronology of his history. There is even reason to believe, that many of his noblest actions were performed some years before his reputation found access to the history of his country.

The earl of Surry, the only man of virtue, or indeed of capacity, who had been appointed to the government of Scotland, was forced, on account of his health, to reside in England, while Cressingham and Ormesby were rendering themselves detestable by their oppressions. Edward was at that time in France, and by no means suspected an insurrection in Scotland. When he heard of it, he ordered the earl of Surry, his lieutenant there, to suppress it; but that nobleman's health not permitting him to take the field, he resigned his command to his nephew the lord Henry Percy. That young nobleman assembled a great army, said to consist of forty thousand men, and marched against Wallace, who had, by this time, returned to the western parts of Scotland. He found the Scots encamped at Irwin, with a lake in their front, and their flanks secured by entrenchments; so that they could not be attacked without great hazard; but the English were befriended by the dissensions of the Scots.

Wallace, a private gentleman, of little or no fortune, had gained reputation, and was on the point of acquiring power, which created a jealousy among his fellow-patriots. It was suggested, that an opposition to the English could only be productive of farther national destruction; and Lundie, a man of great rank in Wallace's army, perceiving that he could not be a general, resolved to be a slave; for he formed a party against Wallace, who offered to submit to the English, their being indemnified for all that had passed, and secured in their lives and estates. Wallace and his little band of free Scotchmen were so far from agreeing to those terms, that they sent an open defiance to Percy, and declared that they would never lay down their arms till their country was restored to her liberty and independency. They were so determined in this resolution, that they attacked the rear of the English army, and plundered their baggage; but were obliged to retire with the loss of a thousand men. This check served only to reanimate Wallace and his friends, who were now deserted by almost all the men of property and eminence in their country; but their loss was amply supplied by that middling rank of people, who considered liberty as their most precious birth right*. It was then towards the end of autumn,

and the earl of Surry had returned to Scotland, but was forced to order his army into winter-quarters. All seasons were alike to the brave Wallace and his friends, who took that opportunity to retaliate upon the partizans of England some part of the miseries which Scotland had suffered. The bishop of Glasgow's house was plundered, and the English writers have exclaimed against Wallace for his cruelties; yet it is certain that during all the war he carried on against the enemies of his country, he neither put woman nor child to death, nor any other person who was not found in arms to oppose him.

The history of no country, perhaps, can exhibit such a scene as that of Scotland now presents. Her great noblemen, intimidated, overawed, or corrupted, had lost all feeling for their country. Baliol, her mock king, had been sent by Edward, in chains, to remain a prisoner in the Tower of London. Bruce, more degenerated still than Baliol, who had made a spirited effort against Edward, lived upon his English estate, despised and unnoticed. The leading nobility were glad of an opportunity of safely tyrannising over their inferiors, through their absence from the seat of government; and many of the lowest rank of the Scots were indifferent under what master they served, as nothing could be more dismal than their feudal dependence. The Scots, therefore, very properly considered themselves as a people destitute of any bond of union with government, and that nature had given them a right to provide for their self-preservation, without regard to any other consideration.

The earl of Surry now advanced towards Stirling, where the pass over the Forth was no A. D. 1297. better than a wooden bridge; but across it he saw the Scotch army, encamped in excellent order on the opposite bank, under Wallace. The histories and traditions of Scotland here mention a circumstance which, when we consider the times, is far from being improbable; for they tell us, that Wallace, foreseeing the English would pass the bridge to encounter him, had sawed the posts which supported it so artfully that it gave way after the enemy had passed it. Lundie, a Scotch knight, who knew the abilities of Wallace, endeavoured to dissuade the earl of Surry from passing the bridge to attack him; but the treasurer, Cressingham, being of a different opinion, sir Marmaduke Twenge, one of the boldest of the English officers, put himself at the head of the English army, and passed the bridge. We are told that at this time the high steward of Scotland, and Matthew earl of Lenox, had secretly joined the friends of liberty, and had formed a kind of an army of observation in the rear of the English troops.

Twenge passed the bridge with half the English army, and Wallace seemed to retire in some confusion. This encouraged the English, and they continued their pursuit; when a detachment of the Scots got between them and the bridge, just at the time when it gave way, under the crowds of English soldiers who were passing it. Wallace upon this faced about, and defeated all his enemies who were to the northward of the bridge, while the great steward of Scotland and the earl of Lenox attacked and beat the earl of Surry, who with difficulty escaped to Berwic. Cressingham, though a clergyman, was killed in this encounter, and his body was found cased in armour*. The Scots attributed to him great part of the miseries they suffered; but they were befriended by his avarice, for he left the garrison of Berwic and Roxburgh so destitute of all the means of defence, that they fell immediately into the hands of Wallace, together with many other places south of the Forth.

Edward was, at this time, in foreign parts, while Wallace reaped immortal glory, by being the deliverer of his country. We are not, however, with some writers to imagine, that all the Scots of those days were heroes and patriots. The greatest part of them, perhaps, were over-awed or corrupted by Edward; but the few who remained firm to the cause of liberty, not only supported themselves on the defensive, but, in the beginning of winter made several inroads into England, from whence they carried off a large booty. They even attacked Carlisle and Newcastle; but though they were repulsed from both, they never lost their spirits, and Wallace, at last, formed them into excellent soldiers. Particular mention is made, in our old historians, of his having carried fire and sword, for twenty-three days, through the northern counties of England. Sensible of the disadvantage he was under for want of a due subordination in his army, where every man was a volunteer, he formed a plan, of a regulated militia, which had wonderful effects. His numbers were too few to suffer him to garrison the castles he took: he therefore dismantled Roxburgh and other places in the south; but he put a garrison into Couper, which he took soon after the action at Stirling-bridge.

All the glorious exploits of Wallace could not preserve his countrymen from scarcity. Their perpetual wars with England had occasioned a total cessation of agriculture, and a famine then raged in the bowels of their country, which Wallace could relieve only by the corn and cattle which his followers carried off from England. An inroad made by the garrison of Carlisle into Annandale was the only check the

* Fordun.

Scots met with during that remarkable winter ; and the loss of Wallace, in the whole campaign, was so trifling, that it is scarcely mentioned. Edward, who continued still abroad, hearing of the exploits of Wallace, gladly listened to the proposal made by the pope for a two years truce with the king of France, that he might return to gratify his ruling passion of humbling the Scots. He had written in the most earnest manner to all his great subjects to join the earl of Surry against those rebels, as he affected to call them ; and he ordered the prince his son to summon his military tenants to York, in the beginning of A. D. 1298. the year. The meeting was very full ; but the members demanded a confirmation of the liberties they were entitled to by Magna Charta, as the price of their services against the Scots. Edward granted all they required ; and in the spring of the year an army of above an hundred thousand English was assembled, of whom above two thousand were horsemen, and completely cased in steel, which, in those days, was the privilege of barons and knights alone *. All this happened while Edward was still abroad ; but he gave a sanction to whatever was required, and ordered the earl of Surry not to proceed against Wallace till he should arrive to head his own army in person.

The main body of the English army, under the earl of Surry, was then lying in the neighbourhood of Berwic, but their numbers were too great to be supported ; and Edward, who was then upon his return to England with an army of veterans, ordered them to be disbanded, reserving twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, all of them choice troops. On the 14th of March he arrived in England, and lost no time in marching northwards to take upon him the command of his army.

By this time, the states of Scotland had chosen Wallace for their protector, under Baliol. There was, it is true, no precedent for such a step, but necessity warranted the measure. In a parliament which he convoked at Perth, he was confirmed in his authority ; and Patrick, earl of Dunbar, was declared to be a traitor, for siding with the English. It is with some reluctance that I must acknowledge the envy and meanness of the Scotch nobility towards their brave protector Wallace. Baliol, being freed from his imprisonment in England, was then living upon his French estate ; Bruce was the declared partizan of the English, and was daily endeavouring to form a party against Wallace. Cumming had the same ambitious views ; so that Wallace had no friends but those of liberty and independency. He bore up against all

* Dr. Henry.

ments; and, the nobility failing him, he again found resources in the middling rank of his countrymen*. It is here proper to observe, that, before Wallace was chosen protector, twelve guardians of the kingdom; all of them noblemen, had been elected at a parliament in Perth, and Wallace had been probably substituted in their places. Edward, in the mean time, was making vast preparations for another expedition into Scotland; and had, with little credit to his own reputation, not only extricated himself out of his French and Flemish wars, but had made all the concessions to his English subjects which the most turbulent of them could require, that he might meet with no obstruction in giving a final blow to the Scotch name and nation. His views, probably, were to deprive them even of that shadow of royalty in which he had indulged them, when he had appointed Baliol to be their king, and to cut off every Scotchman who should dare to resist him.

In this he was but too well seconded by the heads of the great Scotch families, Bruce, Cumming, and Steuart. The former still flattered himself, that Edward would pay some regard to his pretensions; and the two latter, though they did not side with the English, hated Wallace.

Edward, upon his last arrival in England, had made uncommon efforts to raise money for carrying on the war against Scotland, and writs of summonses were issued for a two-fold rendezvous; one of all the militia of the kingdom to meet the king at Carlisle on Whitsun-eve; and another for a parliament to assemble at York. At the same time, he sent letters to Wallace, upbraiding him for the hostilities he had committed against England, which, he said, he durst not have attempted, had he (Edward) been in his own dominions. Wallace treated the messengers he sent with these letters (which it is more than probable contained offers of pardon) with great stateliness, and, in turn, reproached Edward with his having taken advantage of the divisions of a free people to enslave them; and thus that negociation ended.

England had never before seen so complete an army, as that which Edward mustered before he entered upon this expedition to Scotland. It consisted of eighty thousand foot, three thousand horsemen, completely armed, and four thousand armed. This vast body was attended by a fleet to supply it with provisions (the erection of magazines being then unknown in Europe); but the tempestuous weather, and unfavourable winds, put Edward under vast difficulties. Besides this army he had detached bodies in Scotland. The earl of Pembroke was defeated in Fife, with the loss of about fifteen hundred men; and sir John Witherington was

* Guthrie.

cut off with another separate body near Perth. The Gallo-way men, among or near whom the great estates of Bruce and Baliol lay, were not only influenced by those chiefs, but still retaining ideas of their former independency (the loss of which they attributed to the Scots) had joined Edward's generals, to whom they had been very instrumental in preserving their footing in Scotland. According to the Scots, the two last-mentioned defeats were owing to Wallace, who knowing the difficulties of Edward for want of subsistence, encamped in front of his army at Stanmore with so martial an appearance, that Edward did not think proper to advance; which is the more probable, as he had as yet drawn no benefit from his fleet. When he came to a place called Templeton, he received some supplies from his ships, which determined him to march through a cultivated country to Falkirk, where he knew his enemies would make their great stand.

The nearer the Scots were to destruction, the more they courted it, by the animosities which were hourly prevailing among their leaders. It unfortunately happened, that the feudal law gave each chief a kind of an independent command over his followers. Bruce, as we have already seen, had joined Edward; and Cumming and Stuart, while the English were advancing to attack them, were disputing with Wallace about the post of honour; but we are not certain in what manner the difference was ended. All that we know is, that it was not decreed to Cumming. It is allowed on all hands, that the Scotch army did not exceed thirty thousand men, while that of Edward consisted of forty thousand of his best troops, and that Wallace made a most excellent disposition. He drew up his men in three divisions, so as that they could not be out-flanked by the enemy, with his horse in the rear, and the front ranks intermixed with archers. The army under Edward was commanded by Bobun earl of Hereford, high-constable of England, Bigod, earl-marshal, and the earl of Lincoln. Edward had intelligence of the alterations among the Scotch leaders; and scarcely were they ended (if they ended at all) when he gave the signal for the charge. This was answered by a shout from the Scots, so terrible, that it frightened Edward's horse; and, falling to the ground, two of his ribs were broken. He dissembled his anguish, and ordered his Welch soldiers to begin the attack; but they disliked the service, and Edward, forgetting his pain, put himself on foot at the head of a battalion, who plucked up the pallisades with which the Scots had guarded their front, and broke in upon them with irresistible fury. Wallace had just time to make a very short speech to his soldiers: "There," said he, "is Edward; run

if you dare;" but he had scarcely spoken, when he had the mortification to see Cumming, with his division, which was the strongest of the army, quit the field without a stroke, and leave the brigade under Stuart to be cut in pieces with their gallant leader. Notwithstanding these disasters, Wallace kept his ground with amazing intrepidity, till Bruce and his followers made a circuit round a hill, attacked him in the rear, and obliged him to retreat, which he did in good order and with a considerable body under his command, towards the river Carron, which he passed.

This battle was fought on the 22d of July, and the loss of the Scots could not fall short of ten thousand men, though, by English writers, it is raised to a far greater number. The chief among the Scots who fell were Macduff, earl of Fife, and John de Graham, a man so brave that he may be stiled the right hand of Wallace. The loss of the English is too inconsiderable to be mentioned, none among them of note being killed but the great master of the templars. It appears that Bruce continued his pursuit of Wallace; but that both leaders agreed to a private parley on the banks of the Carron, by which they were separated. Bruce reproached the other with madness for taking arms against so powerful a king as Edward, and insinuated that Wallace himself had a view upon the crown. The answer of Wallace was that of a hero and a patriot. He warmly disclaimed having any ambitious thoughts, which, he said, he had neither a right nor an inclination to entertain; but put Bruce in mind of his degeneracy, and his indolence in not supporting his high-born claim to the crown. "To you (said he) the miseries of your country are owing. You left her overwhelmed with woes, and I undertook the cause which you betrayed; a cause which I shall espouse as long as I breathe, while you live with ignominy, and court the chains of a foreign tyrant*." Such was the substance of a declaration as spirited and virtuous, perhaps, as any that history can produce. The words of Wallace sunk deep into the mind of Bruce, and afterwards were attended by the noblest effects. It is thought that they opened his eyes, but concurred with his reflections upon his own conduct to shorten his life, though not before he had animated his son with the spirit of the brave knight. That Bruce died soon after this battle is beyond doubt; and the historians who lived nearest those times agree, that his death was owing to remorse and grief for his past meanness.

The situation of Wallace after the battle of Falkirk was singular, and his behaviour in it more than justifies the warmest praises which the free and the brave of all countries,

as well as Scotland, have poured upon his memory. His patriotism was proof against all the ingratitude and insolence he had encountered; and his own greatness can scarcely be said to have a place in his thoughts, so entirely were they devoted to the service of his country. Without repining, he heard that the states of Scotland intended to raise his capital enemy, John Cumming, earl of Buchan, to the protectorship. This made no impression upon Wallace, who by this time was resolved to take the first opportunity of resigning that invidious distinction. Having collected all the remains of the Scotch army after its defeat at Falkirk, he was in a condition once more to take the field; and after burning the town of Stirling, he crossed the Forth, and entrenched himself at Perth, waiting for the approach of the victorious English. Their historians have in vain endeavoured to throw a veil over Edward's history at this period, for it is certain Wallace stopt the progress of the English monarch, irresistible as he appeared.

Some of the Scotch historians with unpardonable malevolence * have said, that immediately before the battle of Falkirk, an altercation happening between Stuart and Wallace, the latter withdrew his division, and suffered Stuart and his troops to be cut in pieces. The subsequent conduct of Wallace is an effectual refutation of this calumny. The sons of Freedom continued to flock to his standards, and scarcely an hour passed in which he did not attack and defeat straggling parties of the English army. The truth is, Edward's desire to subdue Scotland, and his unmanly resentment against its inhabitants, led him into errors that were unpardonable in so great a general. He had advanced with a great army into an exhausted impoverished country, which obliged him to have his quarters and posts at considerable distances from each other. He had depended upon precarious supplies from his fleet; but they had failed him through the tempestuousness of the weather. Wallace was sensible of his situation, and availed himself of it with such success, that Edward, in the career of all his victories, was forced to come to the resolution of returning to England. Previous to this, he proceeded against his Scotch prisoners, and all who disclaimed his authority, with unrelenting cruelty; for, performing homage or suffering death, was all the option he left to the wretched inhabitants. When he began his march southward, Wallace and his friends hovered on his rear, and made severe reprisals upon numbers of the English, who fell into their hands; so that Edward was forced, in order to regain Carlisle, to strike through the inhospitable forest of Selkirk.

There is the greatest reason to believe that Wallace, while he was performing those noble exploits, had no other character than that of a volunteer in the service of his country; for it is agreed by all historians, that he had before that time resigned the protectorship, in an assembly of the nobles. We are therefore now to behold him in the light of a private individual at the head of a body of friends, whom his virtue had formed, and his courage had animated, for the deliverance of their country; or, in other words, Wallace was an illustrious rebel to the cause of slavery. Cumming appears to have been now the legal governor of Scotland under Baliol, but the part he acted was spiritless and pusillanimous. He pretended to hold his authority from the states; but he did nothing to assist their independency, though a favourable opportunity then presented, by the differences which had broken out afresh between Edward and his English nobility. The wisest measure which Cumming pursued, was his applying first to Philip de Valois, the king of France, and then to pope Boniface VIII. for a truce in favour of Scotland. Edward's affairs on the continent of Europe, at that time, were in a very indifferent situation; and though Baliol was still his prisoner, yet the court of Rome treated him as a sovereign independent prince.

This was far from being agreeable to Edward, as it struck at his claim of superiority over Scotland; and the respect with which Philip acted towards Baliol gave him still greater disquiet. He had, partly through the disaffection that continued to reign among his nobility, and partly to be at hand to curb the Scots, passed the winter of the year 1298, in the north of England; and at Durham he called a great council of his nobility, in which he gave away to his own party the estates of the principal Scotchmen who followed either Cumming or Wallace. But, according to Buchanan, though he had, at the intercession of Philip, consented to a truce of seven months, yet he imprisoned the Scotch ambassadors as they were proceeding to the pope's court. The Scots seem to have considered Edward's agreeing to a truce as arising from the necessity of his own affairs; and, without regarding it, they resumed their arms, with a greater shew of resolution than before. We are to observe, that they were divided, at this time, into three classes; those who persevered in their allegiance to Edward; those who looked upon Baliol as their king, and Cumming as his substitute or lieutenant; and those under Wallace, who renounced all connections with, or dependence upon England, and acted singly for the liberties of his country. The two latter classes differed in principle, but agreed in measures; for they joined in expelling the

the English out of Scotland, in which they were so successful, that the enemy, in a short time, were driven out of all the chief strong holds, except Edinburgh, Stirling, and Berwic.

While Edward was at Berwic, he appointed John de St. John, one of the bravest and most experienced of his officers, to be his head commissioner for the government of Scotland; and, returning to London about the beginning of February, he there not only confirmed the A. D. 1300. great charter of the English liberties, but offered to increase them, if his nobility thought they were defective. All this was to sooth them into the measures he was carrying on against Scotland. After the 10th of May he set out for the north, and ordered his military tenants to attend him at York on Midsummer-day. Towards the end of June he entered Scotland with a great army, which the regent durst not face, took the castles of Lochmaber and Caerlaverock; in Annandale, and continued his march into Galloway, where his party was again revived, and where he put all to the sword who resisted him.

While Edward was in this career of success he gave audience to the bishop of Galloway, and the heads of the Cumming family, who came to him with proposals of peace. These were, that the Scots should live under Baliol as their king; that all grants made by Edward of Scotch estates should be annulled, and that they should revert to their first owners; and that Baliol and his family should be re-settled in Scotland. While the Cummings were delivering these terms (which undoubtedly had been dictated by the court of Rome), some mention was made of the interposition of the papal authority, if they were not complied with. This intimation drew an indignant smile from Edward. "Am I" (says he) "to whom you have sworn as the superior lord of Scotland, to be terrified by pretences? Have I not power sufficient to guard my own right? If I hear more of this, by all that is holy, I will lay Scotland waste, with fire and sword, from sea to sea!" Notwithstanding this tremendous menace, the Cummings (who are said to have been the earl of Buchan and the lord of Badenoch) answered with an undaunted air, "That they were resolved to shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of their country;" and then they took their leave of the monarch. This interview seems to have been brought about by Edward's friends in Galloway; and proving ineffectual, it put an end to all farther negociation. Edward, advancing to a river which historians call Swyne, discovered the Scotch army on the opposite banks. He sent a body of archers (the most formidable troops then in Europe) to dislodge them; and the Scots, unable

unable to stand the terrible discharge of arrows, retired; but Edward, fearing that they were drawing his men into an ambush, dispatched the earl of Warwic to stop the pursuit. The archers, perceiving the earl advance, attended with some troops, imagining he was coming to support them, followed the Scots, and made a halt; so that the battle became general. This being perceived by Edward, he sent his son the prince of Wales, at the head of his shining battalion (as he used to call it, by way of preference to all his other troops) to support the earl and his archers, while he himself advanced with the main body of the army. The Scots, who had not intended to stand a general engagement, were unable to sustain the shock, and retiring to their woods and fastnesses, their loss of men was not considerable. It is remarkable, that in this engagement the Welch again refused to act against the Scots, or at least to pursue them. The English historian Walsingham says, that the fate of Scotland would have been decided that day, had the pursuit been continued.

The advantage gained by Edward was, however, of the utmost importance in his favour, as nothing now stood in his way to Stirling, the castle of which he immediately besieged. It was defended by William Oliphant, with great resolution, for three months. Edward at last declared, that he would hang every man of the garrison, if it was not surrendered by a certain day; and the place being now destitute of provisions, Oliphant made an honourable capitulation, which Edward did not punctually observe.

The Scots still maintained the contest for liberty. They were again victorious, and again subdued. Wallace alone maintained his independency amidst the universal slavery of his countrymen. But he was at length betrayed to the English by his friend sir John Monteith: and Edward, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have led him to respect like qualities in an enemy, ordered this illustrious patriot to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submission nor sworn fealty to England, and to be executed on A. D. 1305. Tower-hill. He could not think his favourite conquest secure whilst Wallace was alive.

Hence the unworthy fate of a man, who had defended for many years, with signal valour and perseverance, the liberties of his native country. Portions of his body were afterwards dispersed through different cities of Scotland and England. Such was the treatment of one of the best patriots and greatest heroes any age can boast of. His memory had the singular good fortune, even in those unpolished times, to be celebrated in an ode, which, for elegance of style and beauty

of composition, would do honour to the Augustan age, and if equalled, it never yet has been surpassed. Some have thought it to have been written by his chaplain, John or Arnold Blair; but the other works of that author leave little room for such a conjecture.

In obitum clarissimi ducis Gulielmi Wallace quem Edwardus primus Anglorum rex, sibi proditum, supplicio Londini affecit, Carmen.

Quæ cuncta tollit, sustulit.
 Ex tanto pro cive, cinis; pro finibus urna est:
 Frigusque pro lorica obit.
 Ille quidem terras, loca se inferiora, reliquit.
 At fata factis, suppressens.
 Parte sui meliore solum, cœlumque pererrat,
 Hoc spiritu, illud gloria.
 At sibi si inscriptum generoso pectus honesta
 Fuisset, hostis proditi
 Artibus Angle tuis, in pœnas parciore ills.
 Nec oppidatim spargeres
 Membra viri sacra ada dytis. Sed sein' quid in ista
 Immanitate viceris?
 Ut valla in cunctas oras spargentur & horas
 Laudes; tuumque dedecus.

Thus done into English by the author of the history of the Douglasses, with an elegance equally admirable, when we consider the age in which he lived, though far inferior to the beauty of the original.

Envious death, who ruins all,
 Hath wrought the sad lamented fall
 Of Wallace, and no more remains
 Of him than what this urn contains.
 Ashes for our hero we have,
 He for his armour a cold grave.
 He left the earth, too low a state,
 And by his worth o'erscored his fate.
 His soul death had not pow'r to kill;
 His noble deeds the world do fill,
 With lasting trophies of his name.
 O, hadst thou virtue lov'd or fame,
 Thou couldst not have insulted so
 Over a brave, betray'd, dead foe,
 Edward, nor seen those limbs expos'd,
 To public shame, fit to be clos'd,
 As reliques, in a holy shrine;
 But now the infamy is thine:
 His end crowns him with glorious bays,
 And stains the brightest of thy praise.

Wallace is, by the Scotch historians, said to have been of a gigantic stature, remarkably strong in his person, pleasing in

in his aspect, compassionate, just, bountiful, and placable, towards all but the English, who held his country in slavery. He was taken prisoner on the 7th of September, 1305, and suffered soon after.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpose to which it was directed. The cruelty and injustice exercised upon Wallace, instead of breaking the spirit, only roused more effectually the resentment, of the Scots. All the envy which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chieftain, being now buried in his grave, he was universally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and equally lamented by all ranks of men. The people were every where disposed to rise against the English government: and a new and more fortunate leader soon presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

Robert Bruce, son of that Robert, who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had succeeded, in consequence of his father's death, to all his pretensions; and the death of John Baliol, which happened about A. D. 1306. the same time in France, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had formerly served in the English army; but in a private conference held with Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, the flame of patriotism was suddenly conveyed from the breast of one hero to that of another. Bruce regretted his engagements with Edward, and secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of rescuing from slavery his oppressed country. The time of deliverance seemed now come. He hoped that the Scots, without a leader and without a king, would unanimously repair to his standard, and seat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed with the ardour of youth, and buoyed up by native courage, his aspiring spirit saw alone the glory of the enterprize, or regarded the difficulties that must attend it as the source only of greater glory. The miseries and oppressions which he had beheld his countrymen suffer in their unequal contest for independency, the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone in the struggle, proved but so many incentives to bring them relief, and to lead them fired with revenge against the haughty victors.

In consequence of this resolution, and some suspicions that Edward was apprised of, Bruce suddenly left the English court, and arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief seat of his family interest. There a number of the nobility were happily assembled, and among the rest John Cummin, to whom he had formerly communicated his designs, and who had basely revealed them to Edward. The noblemen

noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce, and still more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their assistance, to redeem the Scottish name from all the indignities which it had so long suffered from the tyranny of their imperious masters. It were better, he said, if Heaven should so decree it, to perish at once like brave men, with swords in their hands, than to dread long, and at last undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace.

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of the nobles, and roused all those principles of indignation and revenge, with which they had long been secretly actuated. They declared their unanimous resolution to use the utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to second the courage of Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cummin alone, who had privately taken his measures with Edward, opposed the general determination, by representing the great power of the English nation; and Bruce, already informed of his treachery, followed him out of the assembly, and, running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends asked him, on his return, if the traitor was slain. "I believe so," replied Bruce: "and is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left to conjecture—I will secure him." He accordingly drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and stabbed him to the heart*.

This deed of Bruce and his associates, which contains circumstances justly condemned by our present manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and just policy. Hence the family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms a hand with a bloody dagger; and, as a motto, the words employed by their ancestor, when he executed that violent action: "I will secure him!"

The murder of Cummin affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scotch nobles. They had now no resource left, but to shake off the yoke of England or perish in the attempt. The genius of the nation roused itself from its long dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans every where to arms. He successfully attacked the dispersed bodies of the English; got possession of many castles; and having made his authority to be acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned at Scone, by the bishop

*G. Buchanan.

of St. Andrews, who had zealously embraced his cause. The English were again driven out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the fortresses still in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, already twice conquered by his valour, were yet to subdue!

Conscious however of his superior power, as well as superior skill in arms, this great monarch made light of his antagonist: he thought of nothing but victory and vengeance. He sent a body of troops into Scotland under Aymar de Valence, his general, who falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, threw his army into disaster, and obliged him to take shelter in the Western Isles. Edward himself was advancing with a mighty force, determined to make the now defenceless Scots the victims of his severity, when he unexpectedly sickened and died at Carlisle; enjoining, with his A. D. 1307. latest breath, his son and successor to prosecute the war, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland*. But that the second Edward was little able to accomplish.

Instead of prosecuting the conquest of Scotland, according to the desire of his father, he returned into England, after a few feeble efforts, and immediately disbanded his forces; although Robert Bruce was become sufficiently formidable to make more vigorous measures necessary.

Soon after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Bruce made himself master of the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses. He daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion. He enlisted under his standard every bold spirit, and he enriched his followers with the spoils of the enemy. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded Robert in all his enterprizes. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, also distinguished himself by his valour; and the dread of the English power being now abated by the feeble conduct of Edward, even the least sanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independency. They obtained a truce, which was of short duration, and ill observed on both sides. But short as it was, it served to consolidate the power of the king, and introduced order into the civil government. A. D. 1312. War was renewed with greater fury than ever. Not content with defending himself, Robert made successful inroads into England; supported his needy followers by the plunder of the country, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror.

Edward, at length roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against a superior force, had again retired into his mountains. The English monarch advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being destitute of provisions, and ill supported by his nobility, he was obliged to return home, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. The seeming union, however, of all parties in England, after the death of Gaveston, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and the passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing at one blow this important enterprize. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony: he enlisted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish, as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of Welch, who were actuated by like motives: he collected the whole military force of England, and entered Scotland at the head of an army of near one hundred thousand men. The Scottish army did not exceed thirty thousand A.D. 1314. combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader as Bruce, be esteemed equal to a far more numerous body. Robert, however, left as little as possible to the superior gallantry of his troops. He posted himself strongly at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, and which was on the point of surrendering. He had a rivulet on front, a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. In this situation he waited the approach of Edward.

The English army arrived in fight towards evening, and a smart combat immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry. Robert, who was at the head of the Scots engaged in a single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his antagonist to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body, and night prevented any further hostilities. Meanwhile the Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the prowess of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the contest of the ensuing day; and the English, confident in their numbers, and elated by past successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge. The darkness, though but of a few

hours, was born with impatience: and Edward, as soon as light appeared, drew up his forces, and advanced against the Scots. Both armies engaged with great ardour, and the dispute was fierce and bloody. Sir James Douglas had broken the English cavalry; but their line of infantry was still firm, when a stratagem decided the fortune of the field. Bruce had collected a number of waggoners and sumpterboys, and furnished them with standards. They appeared upon the heights toward the left. The English mistook them for a fresh army coming to surround them: a panic seized them; they threw down their arms, and fled. The Scots pursued with great slaughter as far as Berwic; and besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, with above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whose ransom was a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. Edward himself narrowly escaped, by taking shelter in Dunbar, whence he passed by sea to Berwic*.

Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independency of Scotland, fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the most signal blow that the English monarchy has received since the Norman invasion. The number of slain is not certainly known, but it must have been very great; for the impression of this defeat in the minds of the English was so strong, that no superiority of force could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots for some years.

That the Scots of those days were better acquainted with Mars than the Muses, may be seen from a scoffing ballad made on this victory, which begins thus:

“ Maydens of England fore may ye mourn
 “ For zour lemmons zou have lost at Bannockburn.
 With heve a low !

“ What ho ! ween'd the king of England
 “ So soon to have won all Scotland.
 With a rumby low !

In order to avail himself of his present success, Robert entered England; ravaged all the northern counties without opposition; and, elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests at the expence of the English. He sent over his brother Edward with an army of six thousand men into Ireland, and he himself followed soon after with a more numerous body of troops. But a grievous famine, which at that time desolated

* Mon. Malms.

both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremity; so that Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, who assumed the title of king of Ireland, after experiencing a variety of hardships, was defeated and slain by the English near Dundalk, and Robert became sensible that he had attempted projects too extensive for the force of his narrow kingdom.

That Robert's civil were not inferior to his military virtues, appears by his introducing into his parliament a new estate, I mean representatives from the communities of burghs, which distinguish the latter A. D. 1328. from villages. He obtained a bull from pope John the Seventh, enjoining the ceremony of unction at the coronation of the Scotch kings, together with the form of an oath before that ceremony was performed. These are circumstances that fully evidence Robert's affection for the liberties of his people, and that he thought they were too loosely guarded by the form observed at the coronation of Alexander the Third.

The prodigious toils and fatigues which Robert had undergone in his youth, affected him now with an universal rheumatism, which, according to some, was attended with a leprosy; he therefore ordered a parliament to meet at Perth, in order to confirm the succession of the crown to his son David and his heirs, and, failing them, to his grandson, the great steward of Scotland. Nothing was more common, during this period, than for the princes of the continent, those of Spain particularly, to order their sons, however young they might be, to be crowned in their life time. It was with peculiar propriety that Robert, who knew that the Baliol family was still in being, invested his son with this mark of sovereignty, because it rendered the oaths of fidelity taken by his nobles the more solemn and sacred. We are not, however, to imagine that, had Robert lived many years after this, the young prince would have looked upon himself as sovereign of Scotland from this coronation, for the executive power must have still remained with his father.

Finding death approach, Robert ordered himself to be carried to his castle of Cardross, lying on the western side of the river Leven; and in his last hours, he ordered his chief officers of war and state to assemble in his bed-chamber, to receive his dying commands. These were, that in case of a war with England, they should by all means avoid a general engagement, but should harass the enemy by frequent skirmishes, or sudden attacks; and that they should never make a peace or truce with England that was to last above three

or four years, lest the disuse of arms should enervate the people. He then, in the manner of the times, told them, that as he often purposed to visit the Holy Land, he was greatly desirous his heart should be carried thither; but he left to them the choice of the person to perform that commission, desiring them to retire immediately, and to report to him the result of their deliberation. His last request was, that they never should give the government of the Western-Islands to one person *. His attendants were drowned in tears, while he delivered his orders concerning his heart †; and retiring from his presence, they made choice of the lord Douglas to execute the melancholy office. This being reported to Robert, he said, that they had pitched upon the very man whom he had long wished to perform it; a compliment so agreeable to Douglas, that he fell upon his knees by the bed, and bedewed his dying master's hand with tears of gratitude and affection. The delicacy of Robert, in taking the advice of his nobles in an affair which he had so greatly at heart, is admirable, as it might have created ill blood among them, had he himself given the preference to any one; and their judicious compliance with what they knew to be their king's secret desire, was equally noble, and no doubt softened his dying moments; for he expired in a few hours
 A. D. 1329. after in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

None was ever less indebted to chance than Robert was. If he was fortunate in any respect, it was in the courage, attachment and fidelity of that circle of friends, who attended him through his various, and almost insupportable distresses. With regard to his civil virtues, even the English writers have not been able to fix a stain upon his conduct. His undertaking to place his brother on the throne of Ireland; his lending him a force that had almost effected it; and his assisting him in person, at a time when a war was raging on the frontiers of his own dominions, shew an unexampled compass of genius, and demonstrate how true a judgment he could make of mankind, in the choice of his friends and generals; for we know of no prejudice his dominions received by his absence.

When Robert Bruce began his reign, the same form of government was established in all the kingdoms of Europe.

* From this passage, and many others that must occur to the reader in the course of this history, he will be sensible that the Western Islands of Scotland were objects of far greater importance formerly than they are now. The decrease of population, and consequently of agriculture, is visible in many other parts of Europe.

† Barbour.

The feudal system universally prevailed; the kings who had formerly been elective, were indeed become hereditary; but their revenues were narrow, and the armies they led into the field were composed of their subjects, who held their lands by the simple tenure of arming in defence of the public cause. As they served without pay, their obedience was precarious; and far from being an engine at the king's disposal, they were often no less formidable to him than to his enemies.

In the same proportion that the king sunk in power, the nobles rose towards independence; not satisfied with obtaining an hereditary right to their *fiefs* or *landed possessions*, their ambition introduced entails, which, as far as human ingenuity could devise, rendered their estates unalienable, as they had full power to add to the inheritance transmitted to them by their ancestors, but none to diminish it: marriages, legacies, and other accidents, brought continual accessions of wealth and dignity; a great family, like a river, became considerable from the length of its course; and, as it rolled on, new honours and new property successively flowed into it.

Whatever influence is derived from titles of honour, the feudal barons possessed likewise, in an ample manner: the appellation by which the virtues of the father had been distinguished, descended to the son, however unworthy; and the presumption of the nobles soon aspired to annex to their posterity the chief offices of the state. In Scotland the important trusts of lord justice general, great chamberlain, high steward, high constable, earl marshal, and high admiral, were all hereditary; and in many counties, the office of sheriff was held in the same manner.

Nobles whose power was so great, and whose property was so extensive, could not fail of being turbulent and formidable; nor did they want instruments for executing their boldest designs. That portion of their lands which they parcelled out among their followers, supplied them with a numerous band of faithful and determined vassals, while that which they retained in their own hands, enabled them to live with a princely splendour. The great hall of an ambitious baron was often more crowded than the court of his sovereign; the strong castles in which they resided, afforded a secure retreat to the discontented and seditious; and a great part of their revenue was spent upon multitudes of indigent, but bold retainers. Even in times of peace, they were accompanied by a vast train of armed followers; and the usual retinue of William the sixth earl of Douglas, consisted of two thousand horse*.

The nature of the country was one cause of the power and independence of the Scottish nobility: mountains, and

* Guthrie.

fens, and rivers, set bounds to despotic power; and in such places did the barons of Scotland usually fix their residence. The sovereign found it almost impracticable to lead an army through a barren country, to places difficult of access to a single man. The same cause which had checked the progress of the Roman arms, and rendered all the efforts of Edward the First abortive, protected the Scottish nobles from the vengeance of their sovereign, and fortified their personal independence.

The want of great cities in Scotland, contributed not a little to increase the power of the nobility, and to weaken that of the prince. Laws and subordinations take rise in cities; and where there are few cities, there are few or no traces of a well-arranged police. The nobles, under a feudal government, seldom appeared at court where they found a superior, or dwelt in cities where they met with equals. The vassals of every baron occupied a distinct portion of the kingdom, and formed a separate and almost independent society. Instead of joining to reduce the seditious chieftain, they were all in arms for his defence: and the prince was obliged to connive at criminals, who, conscious of their advantages, multiplied their offences in assured impunity.

The division of the country into clans, had no small effect in rendering the nobles considerable. The nations which over-ran Europe were originally divided into many small tribes; and when they came to parcel out the lands that they had conquered, it was natural for every chieftain to bestow a portion, in the first place, upon those of his own tribe or family. These all held their lands of him, were closely united together, and were distinguished by some general appellation: when that became common, the descendants and relations of every chieftain assumed the same name and arms with him: other vassals were proud to imitate their example; and by degrees they were communicated to all those who held of the same superior. Thus clanships were formed; and in a generation or two, that consanguinity which was at first, in a great measure imaginary, was believed to be real. An artificial union was converted into a natural one. Men willingly followed a leader whom they regarded both as the superior of their lands, and the chief of their blood; and served him not only with the fidelity of vassals, but with the affection of friends.

The smallness of their number may be mentioned among the causes of the grandeur of the Scottish nobles. Scotland, a kingdom neither extensive nor rich, could not contain many over-grown proprietors; but the power of an aristocracy always diminished in proportion to the increase of its

• Stuart.

numbers.

numbers. When nobles are numerous, their operations nearly resemble those of the people; they are roused only by what they feel, not by what they apprehend; and submit to many arbitrary and oppressive acts before they take arms against their sovereign. A small body, on the contrary, is more sensible and more impatient, quick in discerning, and prompt in repelling danger. Hence proceeded the extreme jealousy of the Scottish nobles, and the fierceness with which they opposed the incroachments of the crown: besides this, the near alliance of the great families by frequent intermarriages, was the natural consequence of their small number; and as consanguinity was, in those ages, a powerful bond of union, all the kindred of noblemen interested themselves in his quarrel, as a common cause; and every contest the king had, though with a single baron, drew upon him the arms of a whole confederacy.

These natural connexions the Scottish nobles strengthened by numerous associations, which, when formed with their equals were called *leagues* of mutual defence; and when with their inferiors, *bonds of manrent*. By the former, the contracting parties bound themselves mutually to assist each other in all causes, and against all persons; by the latter, protection was stipulated on the one hand, and fidelity and personal service promised on the other. By degrees these associations became so many alliances, offensive and defensive, against the throne; and as their obligation was held more sacred than any tie whatever, they contributed not a little to the power and independence of the nobility.

That power was also augmented by the frequent wars between England and Scotland. Nature has placed no barrier between the two kingdoms: a river almost every where fordable, divides them towards the east; on the west they are separated by an imaginary line. The slender revenues of our kings prevented them from fortifying, or placing garrisons in the towns on the frontiers; nor would the jealousy of their subjects have permitted such a mode of defence. The barons, whose estates lay on the borders, were generally entrusted with the wardenships of the different marches. This gained them the leading of the warlike counties in the South; and as their vassals were inured to a state of perpetual hostility, the Scottish monarchs always found it impracticable to subdue the mutinous and ungovernable spirit of the borderers.

The calamities which befel the kings of Scotland, contributed more than any other cause to diminish the royal authority. Of six successive princes, from Robert the Third, to James the Sixth, not one died a natural death; and the minorities, during that time, were longer and more frequent than

ever happened in any other kingdom. From Robert Bruce to James the Sixth we reckon ten princes; and seven of these were called to the throne while they were minors, and almost infants. The most regular governments must feel the effects of a minority; but to the imperfect system of Scotland, those effects were still more fatal. The fierce and mutinous spirit of the nobles, unrestrained by the authority of a king, scorned all subjection to the delegated jurisdiction of a regent, or to the feeble commands of a minor. The aristocratical power, during these periods, rose upon the ruins of the monarchical; and when the king himself came to assume the reins of government, he found his revenues wasted or alienated, the crown lands seized or given away, and the nobles so accustomed to independence, that, after the struggles of a whole reign, he was seldom able to reduce them to the same state in which they had been at the beginning of his minority, or to wrest from them what they had usurped during that time.

C H A P. VII.

David Bruce—Robert II.—Robert III.—The Jameses—Mary—Cardinal Beaton—Marriage of Mary with the Dauphin of France—John Knox, the Reformer—Death of the Queen-regent—The Presbyterian form of worship established in Scotland—Death of Francis II.

THE wife and valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and fixed it by treaty, left David his son a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of his victories. About this time Edward Baliol son of John, formerly crowned king of Scotland, was discovered in a French prison by lord Beaumont, an English baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and deeming Baliol a proper instrument for his purpose, procured him his liberty, and induced him to revive his claim to the Scottish crown.

Many other English noblemen, who had obtained estates during the subjection of Scotland, were in the same situation with Beaumont. They also saw the utility of Baliol, and began to think of recovering their possessions by arms; and they

they applied to Edward for his concurrence and assistance. Edward was ashamed to avow their enterprize. He was afraid that violence and injustice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with superior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whose independent title had been so lately acknowledged by a solemn treaty; but he secretly encouraged Baliol in his claim, connived at his assembling forces in the North, and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join him. A force of near three thousand men was assembled, with which Baliol and his adherents landed on the coast of Fife.

Scotland was now in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain in a crusade against the Moors, and there perished in battle. The earl of Murray, long declining through years and infirmities, had lately died, and been succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Mar, a man much inferior in talents; so that the military spirit of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a guide. Baliol had valour and activity, and his followers being firmly united by their common object, drove back the Scots who opposed his landing. He marched into the heart of the country; and with his small party defeated an army of forty thousand men, under the earl of Mar, of whom twelve thousand are said to have been slain.

Baliol, soon after the victory, made himself master of Perth, and was crowned at Scone; while young Bruce, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife Jane, sister to king Edward. Scotland was subdued by a handful of men; but Baliol lost the kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it. His imprudence or his necessities, making him dismiss part of his English followers, he was unexpectedly attacked near Annan by sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of Bruce's party. He was routed; his brother John Baliol was slain, and he himself was chased into England in a miserable plight*.

In this extremity, Baliol had again recourse to the English monarch, without whose assistance he was now become sensible he could neither recover nor keep possession of his throne. He offered to acknowledge Ed- A. D. 1333.
ward's superiority; to renew the homage for Scotland; and to espouse the princess Jane, if the pope's con-

sent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Ambitious of retrieving that important superiority relinquished by Mortimer during his minority, Edward willingly accepted the offer, and put himself at the head of a powerful army, in order to reinstate Baliol in his throne. The Scots met him with an army more numerous, but less united, and worse supplied with arms and provisions. A battle was fought at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwic; where about thirty thousand of the Scots fell, and all the chief nobility were either killed or taken prisoners.

After this fatal blow, the Scottish nobles had no resource but in submission. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh; the superiority of England was again recognized: many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; who, leaving a considerable body of troops with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom,

returned to England with the remainder of his
A. D. 1334. army. But the English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted against Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward was again obliged to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses. He destroyed the houses, and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels. But this severity only confirmed them more in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now

A. D. 1336. rendered desperate, they soon re-conquered their country from the English. Edward again made his appearance in Scotland, and with like success. He found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and although he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken or subdued. Besides being supported by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amid all their calamities, with daily promises of relief from France.

A small body of Scottish nobles, faithful to their exiled prince, at last drove Baliol out of Scotland, and restored the crown to David. The gratitude of the king distributed among such as had adhered to him, the best possessions which fell to the crown by the forfeiture of his enemies. The family of Douglas, which began to rise above the other nobles, in the reign of his father, augmented both its power and property during his minority. David had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Durham: and after continuing above eleven years in captivity, he paid

1,000,000

1,000,000 marks for his ransom, and died in peace without issue. Being at first an exile in France, afterwards a prisoner in England, and involved in continual wars with Edward the Third, David had not leisure to attend to the internal police of his kingdom.

The crown of Scotland now devolved upon the family of Stewart, by its head having been married to Marjory Bruce, the daughter of Robert I. The first king of that name was Robert II. a wise and brave prince; he was succeeded by his son Robert III. during whose reign Richard II. crossed the Tweed at the head of an army of sixty thousand men. The Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force: they abandoned, without scruple, their rugged territory to be pillaged and laid waste by the enemy, and made an incursion into the more fertile provinces of England, where they collected a rich booty, and returned in tranquillity to their own country. The English monarch, however, wandered over great part of the comparatively barren kingdom of Scotland, and led his army back into England, without taking vengeance on the enemy for their devastations *. His impatience to return, and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements, over-balanced every higher consideration, and made even revenge a motive too feeble to detain him.

Robert III. though a prince of slender capacity, was extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct. But Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing a sovereign of such a character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of a boisterous and violent disposition, assumed the government of the state; and not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger; so that James, the younger brother of David, A. D. 1401, alone stood between the tyrant and the throne.

Robert, therefore, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him into France, and of trusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, however, the vessel was taken by the English; and although there subsisted at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry IV. refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. But he made some amends for this want of generosity, by bestowing on James an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne,

* Walsingham.

to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

During the reign of Robert, the Scots were tempted by the disorders in England to make incursions into that country; and Henry desirous of taking revenge upon them, conducted an army as far north as Edinburgh. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned without effecting any thing of consequence. Next season, however, Archibald earl of Douglas, who, at the head of twelve thousand men, attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, had made an irruption into the northern counties, was overtaken by the Percies of Northumberland on his return, at Homeldon, on the borders of England, where a fierce battle ensued, and the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as were the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the Scottish nobility and gentry*.

When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners; a privilege which that nobleman regarded as his right, by the then received laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But by this selfish policy he gave fresh disgust to the powerful family of Northumberland. The impatient spirit of Harry Percy commonly known by the name of Hotspur, and the factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of the earl of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted Northumberland to seek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour: he set the earl of Douglas at liberty, and made an alliance with that martial chieftain. But when war was ready to break out, the earl of Northumberland was unfortunately seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour.

The king had happily a small army on foot, with which he intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down, in order to give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the

* Hall, Otterbourne.

other, made them hasten to a general engagement. The armies were nearly equal in number, consisting of about twelve thousand men each; and we scarcely find any battle in those ages, where the shock was more terrible or more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; and the prince of Wales, his gallant son, whose military achievements became afterwards so famous, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself in a remarkable manner. Percy supported that renown which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amid the horror and confusion of the fight. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible. He seemed determined the king of England should fall that day by his arm. He fought him all over the field; and as Henry had accoutred several captains in the royal garb, in order to encourage his troops, the sword of Douglas rendered that honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Hotspur, accomplished by an unknown hand, decided the victory; the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen on both sides near two thousand three hundred gentlemen.

The reign of James I. opens to our view the civil transactions in Scotland; and a complete series of laws supplies the defects of our historians. During the many years he was detained in England, he had an opportunity of observing the feudal system in a more advanced state, and refined from many imperfections. He saw their nobles great, but not independent; a king powerful, though far from absolute; a regular administration, wise laws, and a nation flourishing and happy, because all ranks of men were accustomed to obey them. On his return to his native country, he found the regal authority contemptible, the ancient patrimony and revenues of the crown almost annihilated, and the nobles rendered independent by the licence of many years; in every corner some barbarous chieftain ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the king, nor pitied the people. To correct these inveterate evils, James, instead of force, employed the gentler and less offensive remedy of laws and statutes. In a parliament held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of the people by many wise laws, tending to re-establish order, tranquillity, and justice. At the same time he obtained an act, by which he was empowered to summon such as had assumed crown lands during the last reigns, to produce the rights by which they held them. In a subsequent parliament, another statute was passed, that declared all leagues and combinations unlaw-

unlawful. Encouraged by these laws, James seized, during the sitting of parliament, his cousin Murdo, duke of Albany, and his sons; the earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other peers and barons of prime rank. To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany and his sons, and Lennox. These were tried by their peers, and condemned; and while their execution struck the whole order with terror, their forfeiture added vast possessions to the crown.

Encouraged by the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, the king next ventured upon a measure that irritated the whole body of the nobility. The father of George Dunbar, earl of March, had taken arms against Robert III., the king's father; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands restored by Robert duke of Albany. James, on pretext that the regent had exceeded his power, obtained a sentence, declaring the pardon to be void, and deprived Dunbar of the earldom. Such a decision occasioned a general alarm; and the nobles dreaded lest their titles to their possessions might be subjected to the review of courts of law, whose forms of proceeding, and jurisdiction, in a martial age, were little known and extremely odious. The common danger called on the whole order to unite; and the sentiments of the nobles encouraged a few desperate men to form a conspiracy against the life of the king. The first intelligence was brought him while he lay in his camp before Roxburgh castle. He durst not confide in nobles to whom he had given so many causes of disgust, but instantly dismissed them and their

A. D. 1437. vassals, and retiring to a monastery near Perth, was soon after murdered there in the most cruel manner.

Crichton, who had been the minister of James I. assumed the direction of affairs during the minority of James II., and prompted that monarch to pursue the design of humbling the nobility. William VI. earl of Douglas, was the first victim of this barbarous policy: he was decoyed by many promises to an interview in the castle of Edinburgh, and was murdered, with his brother. The credulity of William the eighth, earl of Douglas, led him into the same snare as had proved fatal to his brother: after forming a powerful association against the crown, he ventured to meet the king, on the faith of a safe conduct under the great seal, at Stirling-castle. James urged him to dissolve the dangerous confederacy he had entered into: the earl obstinately refused: "if you will not," said the enraged monarch, "this shall;"—and stabbed him to the heart. The earl's vassals, filled with horror at the deed

deed, ran to arms; a transient accommodation between James and the new earl was soon succeeded by open hostilities: both armies met near Abercorn; and a single battle must have decided whether the house of Stuart, or of Douglas, was henceforth to possess the throne of Scotland. But when the troops of the latter impatiently waited the signal to engage, the earl ordered them to retire to their camp. The irresolution of the commander was attended by the desertion of his followers; and the earl, despised or forsaken by all, was soon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to depend for his subsistence on the friendship of the king of England. The ruin of this great family secured the king for some time from opposition: he procured the consent of parliament to several laws more advantageous to the prerogative; and as he wanted neither courage nor genius, he might probably have subverted the feudal system in Scotland, had he not prematurely fallen by the splinter of a cannon, A. D. 1460. which burst near him at the siege of Roxburgh.

James III., though far inferior to his father and grandfather in ability, was, no less desirous of humbling the nobility. While he kept them at an unusual distance, he bestowed every mark of confidence and affection upon a few mean persons: shut up in the castle of Stirling, he seldom appeared in public, and amused himself with architecture, music, and other arts, which were then but little esteemed. Alexander, duke of Albany, and John, earl of Mar, his brothers, entered deeply into the cabals of the nobility. But the king, detecting their designs, seized them both: the earl of Mar was murdered, and, if we may believe our historians, by the king's command: Albany, apprehensive of the same fate, made his escape out of the kingdom, and fled into France; thence he passed over to England, and concluded a treaty with Edward IV. in which he assumed the name of Alexander, king of Scots. He promised, as soon as he was put in possession of the kingdom, to swear fealty and do homage to the English monarch, and to surrender some of the most valuable counties in Scotland; and he was conducted, in return for those stipulations, by the duke of Gloucester, with a powerful army towards Scotland. The danger of foreign invasion obliged James to implore the assistance of those nobles whom he had so long treated with contempt. Though they seemed to enter with zeal into the measures of their sovereign, they took the field with a stronger disposition to punish his unworthy favourites, than to annoy the enemy. In the camp near Lauder, the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Lennox, followed by almost all the barons of note in the army, entered the
apart-

apartment of James, seized all his favourites except Ramsay, whom they could not tear from the arms of the king, and immediately executed them.

James had no reason to confide in an army so little under his command, and dismissing it, shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh. After various intrigues, a reconciliation was effected between him and his brother; but Albany soon after, on pretext that an attempt had been made on his life by poison, fled from court, and retired to Dunbar. The death of Edward IV. prevented him from receiving the aid he expected from England, and crossing over to France, he seems from that time to have taken no part in the affairs of his native country.

Emboldened by his retreat, the king and his ministers multiplied the insults which they had offered to the nobility. A standing guard was raised for the defence of the royal person, and the command of it was given to Ramsay, lately created earl of Bothwell; while James, sunk in indolence or superstition, devolved his whole authority on his favourites. The nobles, provoked by reiterated injuries, flew to arms; they persuaded or obliged the duke of Rothesay, the king's eldest son, a youth of fifteen, to set himself at
A. D. 1488. their head; when the royal army was defeated and James himself slain in the pursuit.

James IV. was the most accomplished prince of the age: he was naturally generous and brave; loved magnificence, delighted in war, and was eager to obtain fame. He encouraged and protected commerce, which greatly increased in his reign; and the court of James, at the time of his marriage with Henry the Seventh's daughter, was splendid and respectable. Even this alliance could not cure him of his family-distemper, a predilection for the French, which proved fatal to him. He assembled the whole force of his dominions, and crossed the Tweed at the head of a brave, though tumultuous army of fifty thousand men. But instead of making use of the opportunity, which the absence of Henry afforded him, to push his conquests, he wasted his time in the arms of a fair captive. His troops became dissatisfied, and began to be pinched with hunger; and as the authority of the prince was yet feeble among the Scots, and military discipline extremely lax, many of them stole from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surry, having collected a body of twenty-six thousand men, approached the enemy, who lay on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. He drew them from their station, by feigning to enter their country, and an obstinate battle was fought in the field of Flouden,

Flouden, where the king of Scotland and the flower of his nobility were slain*.

The minority of his son, James V. was long and turbulent: and when he grew up, he married two French ladies; the first a daughter of the king of France, and the latter of the house of Guise. He instituted the court of session, enacted many salutary laws, and greatly promoted the industry of Scotland, particularly the working of the mines. At this time the balance of power was so equally poised between the contending princes of Europe, that James's friendship was courted by the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and his uncle Henry VIII. of England, from all of whom he received magnificent presents. But James took little share in foreign affairs; he seemed rather to imitate his predecessors in their attempts to humble the nobility; and the doctrines of the reformation beginning to be propagated in Scotland, he gave way, at the instigation of the clergy, to a religious persecution, though it is generally believed that, had he lived longer, he would have seized all the church revenues, in imitation of Henry. Having slighted some friendly overtures made to him by the king of England, and thereby given great umbrage to that prince, a war at length broke out between them. A large army, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, entered Scotland, and ravaged the country north of the Tweed. After this short expedition, the English army retired to Berwic. Upon its retreat James sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Firth; and he followed at a small distance, ready to join them. Soon after, he gave great offence to the nobility and the army, by imprudently depriving their general, lord Maxwell, of his commission, and conferring the command on his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. The army were so much disgusted with this alteration, that they were ready to disband, when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, supposing themselves to be attacked by the whole English army. The English cavalry, seeing them fly with such precipitation, closely pursued, and slew great numbers, taking prisoners seven lords, two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred soldiers, with twenty-four pieces of ordnance. This disaster so much affected king James, that it threw him into a fit A. D. 1542. of illness, of which he died.

Mary, his daughter and successor, was born only eight days before her father's death. Her beauty, her misconduct,

* Drummond. Herbert.

and her misfortunes, are alike famous in history*. The situation in which James left the kingdom, alarmed all ranks of men; many persons of the first rank had fallen into the hands of the English in the unfortunate rout near the Firth of Solway, and still remained prisoners to the victors. Among the rest of the nobles there was little union; and the religious disputes occasioned by the doctrines of the reformed, growing every day more violent, added to the rage of those factions which are natural to a form of government nearly aristocratical.

The government of a queen was unknown in Scotland; and the prospect of a long and feeble minority invited to faction: James had left open the office of regent to every pretender; and cardinal Beatoun, who had for many years been considered as prime minister, claimed that high dignity. Though supported by the queen Dowager, he had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation; and, at the instigation of the nobles, who wished for a reformation in religion, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, roused himself from his inactivity, and was, by the barons assembled, nominated regent, with the general applause of the people.

No two men differed more widely in disposition and character than the earl of Arran and cardinal Beatoun; the former was timid and irresolute, and the perpetual tool of those who found their advantage in practising upon his fears; the latter, with acknowledged abilities and long experience, was immoderately ambitious; and as his own eminence was founded upon the power of the church of Rome, he was an avowed enemy to the reformers.

The first negociation of the regent gave birth to events of the most fatal consequences to himself, and the kingdom. After the death of James, Henry VIII. conceived hopes of uniting the crowns of Scotland and England, by the marriage of Edward, his only son, with the queen of the Scots. On the promise of supporting his plan in parliament, he released the prisoners he had taken at Solway, and these were joined by all who feared the cardinal, or who desired a change in religion, and looked towards England for the protection of their persons and principles.

But Henry possessed not address sufficient to improve this favourable conjecture; impatient and imperious by nature, he demanded that the queen's person, should be immediately committed to his custody, and that the government of the kingdom should be put into his hands during her minority. Though the regent

* Robertson, Stuart, Whitaker, &c.

secured himself from the opposition of the cardinal, by confining that prelate a prisoner, yet Henry was obliged to consent that the queen should reside in Scotland, and himself remain excluded from any share in the government of the kingdom: on the other hand, the Scots agreed to send their sovereign to England, as soon as she obtained the full age of ten years, and instantly to deliver six persons of the first rank, to be kept as hostages by Henry, till the queen's arrival at his court.

The cardinal, on the recovery of his liberty, complained loudly that the regent had betrayed the kingdom. He foretold the extinction of the true catholic religion under the tyranny of an heretic; and he lamented the ignominy of an ancient kingdom, descending into the station of a dependent province. His remonstrances were seconded by the imprudence of Henry himself. Several ships, which the Scots had fitted out for France, were, by stress of weather, driven into the ports of England; and Henry, under pretext that they were carrying provisions to a kingdom with which he was at war, ordered them to be seized, and condemned as lawful prizes. The Scots, at this insult, expressed all the resentment natural to a high spirited people. The cardinal, by seizing on the persons of the young queen and her mother, added to his party the splendour of the royal name; he received a real accession of strength by the arrival of Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, whose claims upon the regent, extended not only to exclude him from the succession to the crown, but to deprive him of the possession of his personal fortune.

The abbot of Paisley, a natural brother of the regent, a warm partizan of France, and a zealous defender of the established religion, had the address at the same time to play upon the fears of that nobleman; yet the irresolution of the earl of Arran continued to the last moment. On the 25th of August he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the cardinal, who opposed it, an enemy to his country. On the 3d of September he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the cardinal at Callender, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France.

Soon after this sudden revolution in his political principles, the regent changed his sentiments concerning religion. He had formerly been led to express great esteem for the writings of the reformers; and had entertained, in his own family, two of the most noted preachers of the protestant doctrine. But the cardinal represented to him the great imprudence in giving encouragement to opinions so favourable to the pretensions of Lennox; and the timid disposition of the regent, alarmed at the most distant prospect of danger, publicly ab-

jured the doctrine of the reformers at Stirling; and declared, not only for the political, but the religious opinions of his new confidants.

The regent consented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The reformers were persecuted with all the cruelty which superstition inspires into a barbarous people; and they suffered with the fortitude of the primitive martyrs. But though the ascendancy of the cardinal over the regent was open and uncontrouled, he yet was embarrassed by the pretensions of the earl of Lennox. That nobleman, resenting the duplicity of Beatoun, who had sacrificed his interest to purchase the friendship of the earl of Arran, withdrew from court, and threw himself into the arms of the party at enmity with the cardinal.

Lennox, who now acted with the advocates for the English alliance, and a reformation in religion, got the start of the cardinal. He surprised both him and the regent, by a sudden march with a numerous army; but he was weak enough to listen to terms of accommodation; these were artfully spun out to a considerable length: his army, disgusted at the delay, gradually deserted him; and instead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A second attempt to retrieve his affairs was yet more unfortunate: a body of his troops was cut to pieces, and he must have fled out of the kingdom, if an English army had not brought him relief.

Henry was not of a temper tamely to bear A. D. 1544. the indignity with which he had been treated by the regent and parliament of Scotland. In the spring an English army, under the earl of Hertford, was landed without opposition near Leith. That general occupied Edinburgh, and plundered the adjacent country; but, on the approach of the Scottish army, he retired towards England; and Henry, by this expedition, still farther alienated the affections of the Scots from an union with England.

The earl of Lennox, after a few feeble and unsuccessful attempts to disturb the regent's administration, was obliged to fly for safety to the court of London; where Henry rewarded his services by giving him in marriage his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas; and a languid and inactive war was soon after terminated by a peace, in which England, France, and Scotland were comprehended. Henry laboured to exclude the Scots from this treaty; but although a peace with England was of the utmost consequence to Francis I. he refused to abandon allies who had served him with fidelity; and by submission, flattery, and address, he prevailed to have the Scots included in the treaty agreed upon.

The arrogance of cardinal Beatoun, a short time before the peace, had precipitated his fate. His severity to the reformers, and insolence towards the nobles, had worn out the patience of a fierce age. He had treated Norman Lally, the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, with injustice and contempt. It was not the temper of the man, nor the spirit of the times, quietly to digest an affront. The cardinal, at that time, resided at the castle of St. Andrews, which he had fortified at a great expence; his retinue was numerous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring A. D. 1546. country full of his dependents. In this situation sixteen persons undertook to surprise his castle, and to assassinate himself; and their success was equal to the boldness of the attempt. Early in the morning they seized on the gate of the castle, which was set open to the workmen, who were employed in finishing the fortifications; and having placed centinels at the door of the cardinal's apartment, they awakened his numerous domestics, one by one, and turning them out of the castle, they, without noise, or tumult, or violence to any other person, delivered their country, though by a most unjustifiable action, from an ambitious man, whose pride was insupportable to the nobles, as his cruelty and cunning were the great checks to the reformation.

His death was fatal to the catholic religion, and to the French interest in Scotland; and though the regent secretly enjoyed an event which removed out of his way a rival, yet decency and the desire of recovering his eldest son, who, together with the castle, had fallen into the hands of the conspirators, induced him to take arms. Five months were ineffectually consumed before the walls of the castle; and the tedious siege was concluded by a truce, which would probably have afforded the conspirators the most decisive advantage, had not their hopes from England been blasted by the death of Henry VIII.

Francis I. king of France, did not long survive the English monarch; but his successor, Henry II. was not neglectful of the French interest in Scotland. He sent a considerable body of men under the command of Leon Strozzi, to the assistance of the regent; that general soon compelled the conspirators, on the promise of their lives, to surrender; they were accordingly transported to France; the castle itself, in obedience to the canon law, as stained with the blood of a cardinal, was demolished; and the archbishopric of St. Andrews was bestowed by the regent upon his natural brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley.

The conspirators against cardinal Beatoun, found the regent's eldest son in the castle of St. Andrews. The pre-

sumptive heir to the crown in the hands of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, was a dreadful prospect; in order to avoid it, the parliament fell upon a singular expedient. By an act made on purpose, they excluded the regent's eldest son from all right of succession, public, or private, so long as he should be detained a prisoner; and substituted in his place his other brothers, according to their seniority; and in failure of them, the next heirs of the regent.

The delay of a few weeks would have saved the conspirators. The ministers of England conducted themselves in regard to Scotland by the maxims of their late master. In the beginning of September, the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerset, and protector of England, entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thousand men; but the Scots, posted to advantage near the river Eske, were almost double the number of the invaders. The duke of Somerset saw his danger, and would have extricated himself out of it by conditions the most reasonable, but his proposals were rejected with scorn, and the English were only saved by the rashness of their enemies. The Scots descended from their advantageous situation, and hastened with tumultuous valour to encounter at Pinkey, the disciplined courage of the English; the event was such as might have been expected. The route of the Scottish army after a short contest, became universal; few fell in the encounter, but the pursuit was fierce and bloody, and above ten thousand Scots perished on that disastrous day.

The protector had it now in his power to become master of the kingdom, but instead of reducing the fortified places accessible by sea, he amused himself with wasting the open country; and the late battle had no other effect than to precipitate the Scots into new engagements with France. The

A. D. 1548. The duke of Somerset soon after returned to England to encounter the cabals of his domestic enemies; while a body of his troops seized and fortified Haddington, a place, which on account of its distance from the sea and from any English garrison, could not be defended without great expence and danger.

Meanwhile the French gained more by the defeat of their allies, than the English did by their victory. On the death of cardinal Beatoun, Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, took a considerable share in the direction of affairs. She was warmly attached by blood and inclination to the French interest; and she seized the favourable moment to represent to the Scots, whose spirits were depressed by the battle of Pinkey, that no assistance could be expected from Henry II. without extraordinary concessions in his favour. The prejudices of the nation powerfully seconded her representations; the

the nobles, in the violence of their resentment, forgot their zeal for the independence of Scotland, which had prompted them to reject the proposals of Henry VIII. they voluntarily offered their young queen in marriage to the Dauphin, eldest son of Henry II. and proposed to send her immediately into France to be educated at his court. Henry accepted eagerly the offer, and for the defence of his new acquisition, embarked six thousand veteran soldiers under the command of Monsieur Deslé; these served two campaigns in Scotland with a spirit equal to their former fame; but the jealousy of the Scots prevented them from effecting any thing of more importance than compelling the English to evacuate Haddington, and several small forts which they possessed in different parts of the kingdom.

The overtures which had been made to the French king, were confirmed in a parliament assembled in a camp before Haddington; in vain did a few patriots remonstrate against such extravagant successions; the regent was gained by the offer of a pension from France, and the title of duke of Chatelherault in that kingdom; and Mary, who was then but six years old, was conveyed to Calais by the fleet that had brought over the forces under Monsieur Deslé.

The government of England had in the mean time undergone a great revolution; the duke of Somerset had been compelled to resign the power he had usurped, to the earl of Warwick, who quickly found peace necessary for the establishment of his new authority. To acquire it, he scrupled at nothing which Henry pleased to dictate. England consented to restore to France Boulogne with its dependencies; and gave up all pretensions to a treaty of marriage with the queen of Scots, or to the conquest of her country; a few small forts, of which the English troops had hitherto kept possession, were raised; and peace between the two kingdoms was established on its ancient foundation.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the French forces left Scotland; as much to their own satisfaction as that of the nation. The Scots had early found the manners of their allies incompatible with their own; and naturally irascible and high-spirited, they had borne with impatience those marks of contempt which a polished people could not disguise at their barbarous customs. A private soldier engaging in an idle quarrel, with a citizen of Edinburgh, both nations took arms: the provost of Edinburgh, his son, and several citizens of distinction were killed in the fray; the French were obliged to avoid the fury of the citizens by retiring out of the city; and from this time were regarded in Scotland

with an aversion, the effects of which were deeply felt, and operated powerfully through the subsequent period.

During the war with England, the clergy had no power to molest the protestants; and in that interval, the new doctrine advanced by large and rapid steps-towards a full establishment. Nothing was wanting to complete the ruin of superstition, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. Such was the famous John Knox, who, with more extensive views than any of his predecessors in Scotland, possessed a natural intrepidity of mind which set him above fear. Instead of amusing himself with lopping the branches, he struck directly at the root of popery, with a vehemence peculiar to himself. An adversary so formidable could not escape the rage of the clergy: at first he retired for safety into the castle of St. Andrews; and while the conspirators kept possession of it, preached publicly under their protection.

The great revolution in England, which followed upon the death of Henry VIII. contributed towards demolishing the popish church in Scotland. The ministers of his son Edward cast off altogether the yoke of popery; while in Scotland several noblemen of the first distinction openly espoused the principles of the reformers, and the spirit of innovation peculiar to that period, grew every day bolder, and more universal.

Meanwhile their cause received reinforcement from two different quarters, whence they never could have expected it. The ambition of the house of Guise, and the bigotry of Mary of England, hastened the subversion of the papal throne in Scotland; and by a singular disposition of Providence, the persons who opposed the reformation in every other part of Europe with the fiercest zeal, were made instruments for advancing it in that kingdom.

Mary of Guise possessed the same bold and aspiring spirit which distinguished her family; but in her it was softened by the female character, and accompanied with great temper and address. She entertained the arduous design of acquiring the high dignity of regent; and the French king willingly concurred in a measure, which he hoped would in future bring Scotland entirely under his management.

But as the warlike disposition of the Scots rendered it imprudent to attempt this enterprize by force; so also it appeared a chimerical project to persuade a man to abdicate the supreme power: but the hopes of the queen dowager were inflamed by her knowledge of the regent's inconstancy and irresolution. She fomented the factious disposition of the nobles; she countenanced the favourers of the reformation; and she had no sooner formed a strong party of adherents, than the overture was made to the regent, in the name of the

French,

French king, enforced by proper threatenings of future vengeance if he opposed, and sweetened by the promise of a considerable pension, with the confirmation of his French title, if he acquiesced.

Had the archbishop of St. Andrew's been present to fortify the irresolute spirit of the regent, he would in all probability have rejected the proposal with disdain; but that prelate was lying at the point of death; and the regent, abandoning himself to his fears, voluntarily consented to surrender the supreme power.

The queen instantly returned to Scotland in full expectation of taking immediate possession of her new dignity; but by this time the archbishop of St. Andrews had surmounted that distemper which the ignorance of the Scotch physicians had pronounced mortal; and together with his health, had recovered the entire government of the regent: he quickly persuaded him to recal that dishonourable promise which the artifices of the queen had prevailed on him to grant. A tedious negociation ensued; but even the firmness of the archbishop could not withstand the universal defection of the nobility, the growing power of the protestants, who all adhered to the queen dowager, the reiterated solicitations of the French king, and, above all, the interposition of the young queen, who was now entering the twelfth year of her age, and claimed a right of nominating whom she pleased to be regent.

It was in the parliament, which met on the tenth of April, that the earl of Arran executed A. D. 1554. this extraordinary resignation; and at the same time Mary of Guise was raised to that dignity which had been so long the object of her wishes. Gratitude induced her to countenance the principles of the reformed; while Mary, who had ascended the throne of England on the death of her brother Edward, and soon after married Philip II. of Spain, equalled in her persecution of the protestants the deeds of those tyrants who have been the greatest reproach to human nature.

The causes which facilitated the introduction of the new doctrines into Scotland, merit a particular and careful inquiry. The reformation is one of the greatest events in the history of mankind. The revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries roused the world from that lethargy in which it had been sunk for many ages: science and philosophy had laid open to many of the Italians the imposture and absurdity of the established superstition; but it remained for Luther to erect the standard of truth, and uphold it with an
unconquer-

unconquerable intrepidity, which merits the admiration and gratitude of all succeeding ages.

The occasion of Luther's being first disgusted with the tenets of the Romish church, and how, from a small rupture, the quarrel widened into an irreparable breach, is generally known. At that time, the power and wealth of the church in Scotland was immense; and the little learning which existed in that country was entirely engrossed by the clergy: but the respect and influence which these advantages must have commanded, were diminished by their licentious lives, and extreme indolence. According to the accounts of the reformers, confirmed by several popish writers, the most scandalous and dissolute manners openly prevailed among them; and instead of being abashed by the public clamour, and reforming their lives, they affected to despise the censures of the people.

At the same time, in the place of mitigating the absurdity of the established doctrines, the fables of purgatory, the virtues of pilgrimage, and the merits of the saints, were the topics on which they insisted in their discourses; the duty of preaching was left wholly to monks of the lowest and most illiterate orders; and while the reformers were attended by crowded and admiring audiences, the popish preachers were either universally deserted, or listened to with scorn.

The only device which they employed in order to recover their declining reputation, was equally imprudent and unsuccessful. They endeavoured to call in the authority of false miracles to their aid; but the vigilance of the reformers defeated these impostures, and exposed not only them, but the cause which needed the aid of such artifices, to ridicule.

As the popish ecclesiastics became more and more the objects of hatred and contempt, the discourses of the reformers were listened to as so many calls to liberty; the people hoped to shake off the yoke of ecclesiastical dominion, which they had long felt to be oppressive, and which they now discovered to be unchristian; and the spirit of aversion to the established church, which spread fast through the nation, at last burst forth with irresistible violence.

The queen's elevation to the office of regent, A. D. 1554. seems at first to have transported her beyond the known prudence and moderation of her character. By conferring upon foreigners several offices of trust and dignity, she excited the indignation of the Scots; and an incident which happened at that critical juncture, inflamed their aversion to French councils, to the highest degree. Henry II. having resolved upon war with Philip II. and foreseeing

seeing that the queen of England would take part in her husband's quarrel, was extremely solicitous of securing in Scotland the assistance of some troops which would be more at his command than an undisciplined army, led by chieftains who were almost independent. Under pretence of relieving the nobles from the expence and danger of defending the borders, the queen-regent proposed to impose a small tax on land, for the constant maintenance of a body of regular troops: three hundred of the lesser barons represented in a body their sense of the intended indignity; and the queen prudently abandoned a scheme which she found to be universally odious.

Soon after the French commenced hostilities against Spain, and Philip prevailed on his consort to reinforce his army with a considerable body of English troops. But the nobles of Scotland listened with coldness to the solicitations of the French monarch, and declined engaging the kingdom in an unnecessary war. What she could not obtain by persuasion, the queen-regent brought about by stratagem. She commanded the French soldiers to rebuild a small fort near Berwick, which was appointed by the last treaty to be raised: the garrison of Berwick sallied forth, interrupted the work, and ravaged the adjacent country; this insult roused the fiery spirits of the Scots. War was determined on; but before their forces could assemble, their ardour cooled; and the nobles resolved to stand on the defensive. They marched to the banks of the Tweed; they prevented the incursions of the enemy; and having done what they thought sufficient for the safety and honour of their country, the queen could not persuade them, either by her entreaties or her artifices, to advance another step.

The queen having discovered the impotence of her own authority, dismissed the army; and to counterbalance the influence of the archbishop of St. Andrews, still continued to favour the partizans of the reformation. Kirkaldy of Grange, and other surviving conspirators against cardinal Beatoun, were about this time recalled from their banishment; and through her connivance the protestant preachers enjoyed an interval of tranquillity which was of great benefit to their cause.

As the queen-regent discovered how limited her authority was, she endeavoured to establish it on a more secure foundation, by hastening the conclusion of her daughter's marriage with the Dauphin. To complete this, the French king applied to the parliament of Scotland, which appointed eight of its members to represent the whole body of the nation at the marriage of the queen; the instructions of the parliament to
those

those commissioners still remain, and do honour to the wisdom and integrity of that assembly; at the same time that they manifest, with respect to the articles of marriage, a laudable concern for the dignity and interest of their sovereign, they employed every precaution, which prudence could dictate, for preserving the liberty and independence of the nation.

The marriage was celebrated with great A. D. 1558. pomp, and in the treaty the commissioners had agreed that the Dauphin should assume the name of King of Scotland: this they considered only as an honorary title; but the French laboured to annex to it some solid privileges and power. They insisted that the crown matrimonial should be conferred on, and all the rights pertaining to the husband of a queen should be vested in, the person of the Dauphin. By the laws of Scotland, a person who married an heiress, kept possession of her estate during his own life, if he happened to survive her, and the children born in marriage: this was called the *courtesy of Scotland*; and the French aimed at applying this rule, which takes place in private inheritances to the succession of the kingdom. But the answer of the deputies was firm, though respectful; and they discovered a fixed resolution of consenting to nothing that tended to introduce any alteration in the order of succession.

Notwithstanding the cold reception which their proposal concerning the *crown matrimonial* met with from the Scottish deputies, the French ventured to move it in parliament. The partizans of the house of Hamilton, suspicious of their designs upon the succession, opposed it with great zeal. But that party was little able to withstand the influence of France, and the address of the queen regent; that artful princess consented to many new limitations; and the Scots were prevailed on to pass an act which conferred the crown matrimonial on the Dauphin, and to trust to the frail security of words and statutes, against the dangerous encroachments of power.

The protestants had concurred with the queen-regent in promoting this measure, while the popish clergy, under the influence of the archbishop of St Andrews, violently opposed it. The former were by this time almost equal to the catholics both in power and number; and submitted with impatience to that tyrannical authority with which the ancient laws armed the ecclesiastics against them. There were, however, only two ways of exonerating themselves from the burthen. Either violence must extort the indulgence from the hand of the sovereign; or, by prudent compliances, they might expect it from her favour and gratitude; the latter method

method was preferred, and by their zeal in forwarding the queen's designs, they hoped to merit her protection.

The earl of Argyle, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, one the most powerful, and the other the most popular, leader of the protestants, were appointed to carry the crown, and other ensigns of royalty to the Dauphin; while in England, Mary finished her short and inglorious reign, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, who once more established, according to law, the protestant religion in that country.

In Scotland, the reformation advanced towards a full establishment; all the low country was deeply tinged with the protestant opinions; and some praise is due to the regular demeanor of so numerous a party, among a people bred to arms, and in an age when religious passions had taken such strong hold of the human mind. The queen-regent, willing to secure their favour, in order to enable her to maintain that authority which she had found so much difficulty to acquire, connived at the progress of doctrines, which she wanted power utterly to suppress. Too cautious, however, to trust to this precarious indulgence for the safety of their religious principles, the protestant party in Scotland entered privately into a bond of association for their mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, styling themselves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan* *. From the death of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the first who suffered in Scotland for the protestant religion, thirty years had elapsed, during which the reformed had patiently submitted to the most cruel excesses of ecclesiastical tyranny. The archbishop of St. Andrew's had, indeed, by his temper and prudence, encouraged this pacific disposition; but some time before the meeting of the last parliament he departed from his wonted humanity, and sentenced to the flames an aged priest who had been convicted of embracing the protestant opinions.

This was the last barbarity of the kind that the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland. The severity of the archbishop rather roused than intimidated the reformers. The congregation now openly solicited subscriptions to their league; and not satisfied with new and more solemn promises of the regent's protection, they presented a petition to her, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the clergy. They also framed a petition, which they intended to present to parlia-

* Keith. Knox.

ment, soliciting some legal protection against the exorbitant and oppressive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. They even petitioned the convocation; and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, that bishops should be chosen by the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishoners.

Instead of soothing the protestants, by any prudent concessions, the convocation rejected their demands with disdain; and the queen-regent, who had hitherto wisely

A. D. 1559. temporised between the parties, and whose humanity and sagacity taught her moderation, having received, during the sitting of the assembly, the violent commands of her brothers, prepared to carry their despotic plan into execution, contrary to her own judgment and experience. She publicly expressed her approbation of the decrees, by which the principles of the reformers were condemned in the convocation, and cited the most eminent protestant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling *.

The members of the congregation, alarmed but not overawed by this danger, assembled in great numbers, agreeable to the custom of Scotland at that time, in order to attend their pastors to the place of trial †, to protect and to countenance them: and the queen-regent, dreading the approach of so formidable a body, impowered Erskine of Dun, a person of high authority with the reformers, to assure them that she would put a stop to the intended proceedings provided they advanced no farther. They listened with pleasure, and perhaps with too much credulity, to so pacific a proposition; for men whose grievances obliged them to fly in the face of the civil power, under whatever plausible pretext their purpose may be concealed, should trust to nothing less than the solemnity of a contract. The regent broke her promise, conformable to her maxim, that "the promises of princes ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suits their own conveniency." She proceeded to call to trial the persons formerly summoned, and A. D. 1559. on their not appearing, though purposely prevented, they were pronounced outlaws.

By this ignoble artifice, the queen-regent forfeited the esteem and confidence of the whole nation. The protestants boldly prepared for their own defence; and Erskine, enraged

* Melvil.

† In consequence of this custom originally introduced by vassalage and clanhip, and afterwards tolerated through the feebleness of government, any person of eminence accused of a crime, was accompanied to the place of trial by a body of his friends and adherents.

at being made the instrument of deceiving his party, instantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the congregation had retired, and inflamed the zeal of his associates, by his representations of the regent's inflexible resolution to suppress their religion. His ardour was powerfully seconded by the rhetoric of John Knox, a preacher, possessed of a bold and popular eloquence. Having been carried prisoner into France, together with other persons taken in the castle of St. Andrew's, soon after the murder of cardinal Beaton, Knox had made his escape out of that kingdom; and, after residing some time in Scotland, had found it necessary, in order to avoid the vengeance of the popish clergy, to retire to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthusiasm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the severe doctrines of Calvin, who had succeeded Zuinglius in the apostleship of that republic, and completed its ecclesiastical establishment.

Invited home by the heads of the protestant party in Scotland, Knox had arrived in his native country a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, and immediately joined his brethren, that he might share with them in the common danger, as well as in the glory of promoting the common cause. In the present ferment of men's minds, occasioned by the regent's deceitful conduct, and the sense of their own danger, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with such vehemence against the idolatry, and other abuses of the church of Rome, that his audience was strongly incited to attempt its utter subversion. During those movements of holy indignation, the indiscreet bigotry of a priest, who immediately after that violent invective, was preparing to celebrate mass, and had opened all his repository of images and reliques, hurried the enthusiastic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and scattered about the sacred vases. They next proceeded to the monasteries, against which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling the monks, and defacing every implement of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abominations; and in a few hours, those superb edifices were level with the ground*.

Provoked at these violences, and others of a like kind, the queen-regent assembled an army, composed chiefly of French troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as still adhered to her cause, she determined to inflict the severest

* Spotswood. Knox. Hume.

vengeance on the whole protestant party. Intelligence of her preparations, as well as of the spirit by which she was actuated, soon reached Perth; and the heads of the congregation, who had given no countenance to the late insurrection in that city, would gladly have soothed her by the most dutiful and submissive addresses; but finding her inexorable, they prepared for resistance, and their adherents flocked to them in such numbers that, within a few days, they were in a condition not only to defend the town, but to take the field with superior forces. Neither party, however, discovered much inclination to hazard a battle, both being afraid of the dangerous consequences of such a trial of strength; and through the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and of James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the young queen's natural brother, who, although closely connected with the reformers, had not yet openly deserted the regent, a treaty was concluded with the congregation.

In this treaty it was stipulated, among other provisions, that indemnity should be granted to all persons concerned in the late insurrection, and that the parliament should immediately be assembled, in order to compose religious differences. Both these stipulations the queen-regent broke—by neglecting to call the parliament, by fining some of the inhabitants of Perth, banishing others, turning the magistrates out of office, and leaving a garrison in the town, with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion but the Roman catholic*. The protestants renewed their league, and had again recourse to arms; despoiling, wherever they turned their route, the churches of their sacred furniture, and laying the monasteries in ruins. New treaties were concluded, and again broken, and new ravages were committed on the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury.

Meanwhile the congregation had been joined not only by the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, but also by the duke of Chatelherault and his son the earl of Arran, the presumptive heirs of the crown, and had possessed themselves of the capital. They now aimed at the redress of civil as well as religious grievances; requiring, as a preliminary towards settling the kingdom, and securing its liberties, the immediate expulsion of the French forces out of Scotland. The queen-regent, sensible of the necessity of giving way to a torrent which she could not resist, amused them for a time with fair promises and pretended negotiations; but being reinforced with a thousand foreign troops, and encouraged by the court of France to expect soon the arrival of an

* Buchanan.

army so powerful, as the zeal of her adversaries, however desperate, would not dare to encounter, she listened to the rash counsels of her brothers, and at last gave the congregation a positive denial. She was not answerable to the confederate lords, she said, for any part of her conduct; nor should she, upon any representation from them, abandon measures which she deemed necessary, or dismiss forces that she found useful; ordering them, at the same time, on pain of her displeasure, and as they valued their allegiance, to disband the troops which they had assembled.

This haughty reply to their earnest and continued solicitations, determined the leaders of the congregation to take a step worthy of a brave and free people. They assembled the whole body of peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs, that adhered to their party; and the members of this bold convention (which equalled in number, and exceeded in dignity, the usual meetings of parliament), after examining the most delicate and important question that can possibly fall under the consideration of subjects, "the obedience due to an unjust and oppressive administration," gave their suffrage, without one dissenting voice, for depriving Mary of Guise of the office of regent, which she had exercised so much to the detriment of the kingdom*.

The queen-dowager had already retired into Leith, the sea-port of Edinburgh, which she had fortified and garrisoned with French troops, and where she daily expected new reinforcements. Leith was immediately invested by the forces of the congregation; but the confederate lords soon found, that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which exceeded their ability to accomplish. The French garrison, despising the tumultuous efforts of raw and undisciplined troops, refused to surrender the town; and the protestant leaders were neither sufficiently skilful in the art of war, nor possessed of the artillery or magazines necessary for the purpose of a siege. Nor was this their only misfortune: their followers, accustomed to decide every quarrel by immediate action, were strangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and soon became impatient of the severe and constant duty which a siege requires. They first murmured, then mutinied: the garrison took advantage of their discontents; and making a bold sally, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon the enterprise.

Soon after this victory, the queen-dowager received from France a new reinforcement of a thousand veteran foot, and some troops of horse. These, together with a detachment

* Knox.

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from the garrison of Leith, were sent out to scour the country, and to pillage and lay waste the houses and lands of the protestants. Already broken and dispirited, and hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, the queen-dowager's brother, was suddenly expected with a great army, the leaders of the congregation began to consider their cause as desperate, unless the Lord, whose holy name they had assumed, should miraculously interpose in their behalf. But whatever confidence they might place in divine aid, they did not neglect human means.

The Scottish protestants, in this pressing extremity, thought themselves excusable in craving foreign help. They turned their eyes towards England, which had already supplied them with money, and resolved to implore the assistance of Elizabeth to enable them to finish an undertaking, in which they had so fatally experienced their own weakness; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to civil liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that sister-kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination no less than of interest or necessity. Maitland of Lethington, formerly the regent's principal secretary, and Robert Melvil, already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were therefore secretly dispatched, as the most able negociators of the party, to solicit succours from the queen of England.

The wise counsellors of Elizabeth did not long hesitate in agreeing to a request, which corresponded so perfectly with the views and interests of their mistress. Secretary Cecil, in particular, represented to the English queen the necessity, as well as equity, of interposing in the affairs of Scotland, and of preventing the conquest of that kingdom, at which France openly aimed. Every society, he observed, has a right to defend itself, not only from present dangers, but from such as may probably ensue; the invasion of England would immediately follow the reduction of the Scottish malcontents, by the abandoning of whom to the mercy of France, Elizabeth would open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expose it to all the calamities of war, and the danger of conquest. Nothing therefore remained, he added, but to meet the enemy while yet at a distance, and by supporting the leaders of the congregation with an English army, to render Scotland the scene of hostilities; to crush the designs of the princes of Lorrain in their infancy; and by such an early and unexpected effort, finally to expel the French out of Britain, before their power had time to grow up to any formidable height*.

Elizabeth; throughout her whole reign, was cautious but decisive; and by her promptitude in executing her resolutions, joined to the deliberation with which she formed them, her administration became as remarkable for its vigour as for its wisdom. No sooner did she determine to afford assistance to the leaders of the congregation, a measure to which the reasoning of Cecil effectually swayed her, than they experienced the activity as well as extent of her power. The season of the year would not permit her troops to take the field; but, lest the French army should, in the mean time, receive an accession of strength, she instantly ordered a squadron to cruise in the Frith of Forth, and early in the spring an English army, consisting of six thousand foot and two thousand horse entered Scotland, under A. D. 1560. the command of lord Grey of Wilton.

The leaders of the congregation assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with vast numbers of their followers, the combined army advanced towards Leith. The French, little able to keep the field against so superior a force, confined themselves within the walls of the fortification. The place was immediately invested; and although the fleet that carried the reinforcement under the marquis of Elbeuf had been so scattered by a violent storm, and was either wrecked on the coast of France, or with difficulty recovered the ports of that kingdom, the garrison, by an obstinate defence, protracted the siege to a great length*.

Meantime the queen-dowager died; and many of the catholic nobles, jealous of the French power, and more zealous for the liberty and independency of their country than for their religion, subscribed the alliance with England. Nothing therefore could now save the garrison of Leith, but the immediate conclusion of a treaty, or the arrival of a powerful army from France: and the situation of that kingdom constrained the princes of Lorraine to turn their thoughts, though with reluctance, toward pacific measures.

The protestants in France were become formidable by their numbers, and still more by the valour and enterprising genius of their leaders. Among these, the most eminent were the prince of Condé, the king of Navarre (no less distinguished by his abilities than his rank), the admiral de Coligny, and his brother Andelot, who no longer scrupled to make open profession of the reformed opinions, and whose high reputation both for valour and conduct gave great credit to the cause. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with re-

* Mem. de Castelnau.

sentiment against the Guises, who had persuaded Francis II. to imitate the rigour of his father, by reviving the penal statutes against heresy, the protestants or Hugonots, as they were styled by way of reproach, not only prepared for their own defence, but resolved, by some bold action, to anticipate the execution of those schemes which threatened the extirpation of their religion, and the ruin of those who professed it. Hence the famous conspiracy of Amboise, where they intended to seize the person of the king, and wrest the government out of the hands of the Guises, if not to dispatch them; and although the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorraine discovered and disappointed that design, the spirit of the protestant party was rather roused than broken by the tortures inflicted on the conspirators*. The admiral de Coligny had even the boldness to present to the king, in a grand council at Fontainebleau, a petition from the Hugonots, demanding the public exercise of their religion, unless they were allowed to assemble privately with impunity. He was treated as an incendiary by the cardinal of Lorraine; but his request was warmly seconded by Monluc, bishop of Valence, and by Marillac archbishop of Vienne, who both spoke with force against the abuses which had occasioned so many troubles and disorders, as well as against the ignorance and vices of the French clergy. An assembly of the states was convoked, in order to appease the public discontents; the edicts against heretics were, in the mean time, suspended, and an appearance of toleration succeeded to the rage of persecution; but the sentiments of the court were well known, and it was easy to observe new storms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to break forth with all the violence of civil war.

This distracted state of affairs, called off the ambition of the princes of Lorraine from the views of foreign conquests, in order to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown, and made it necessary to withdraw the few veteran troops already employed in Scotland, instead of sending new reinforcements into that kingdom. Plenipotentiaries were therefore sent to Edinburgh, where a treaty was signed with the ambassadors of Elizabeth. In this treaty, it was stipulated, that the French forces should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary should thenceforth abstain from assuming the title of king and queen of England, or bearing the arms of that kingdom. Nor were the concessions granted to the congregation less important; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences;

* Davila. Mezeray.

that none but natives should be put into any office in Scotland; that no foreign troops should hereafter be introduced into the kingdom without the consent of parliament; that the parliament should name twenty-four persons, out of whom the queen should chuse seven, and the parliament five; and in the hands of these twelve, so elected, should the whole administration be vested during Mary's absence; that she should neither make peace nor war without consent of parliament; and that the parliament, at its meeting, which was fixed to a certain day, should take into consideration the religious differences, and represent its sense of them to the king and queen.

A few days after the conclusion of this treaty, both the French and English armies quitted Scotland; and the leaders of the congregation being now absolute masters of the kingdom, made no farther scruple or ceremony in completing the work of reformation. The parliament, which was properly an assembly of the nobles, or great barons, and dignified clergy, met on the day named; and on this occasion the burgesses and lesser barons, who had also a right to be present in that assembly, but who seldom exercised it, stood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties, eager to aid with their voice in the senate, that cause which they had defended with their sword in the field. The protestant members, who greatly outnumbered their adversaries, after ratifying the principal articles of the late treaty, and giving their sanction to a confession of faith, presented to them by their teachers, prohibited the exercise of religious worship according to the rites of the Romish church, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, as the punishment of the first act of disobedience; banishment, as the punishment of the second; and death as the reward of the third*. With such indecent haste did the very persons who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny, proceed to imitate those examples of severity, of which they had so justly complained! a law was also passed for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; and the presbyterian form of worship was established, nearly as now constituted in A. D. 1562. that kingdom.

Francis and Mary refused to ratify these proceedings; which, by the treaty of Edinburgh, ought to have been presented for approbation, in the form of deliberations, not of acts. But the Scottish protestants gave themselves little trouble about their sovereign's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution; they abolished the mass; they

* Spotswood.

settled their ministers; and they committed furious devastations on the sacred buildings, which they considered as dangerous reliques of idolatry, laying waste every thing venerable and magnificent, that had escaped the storm of popular insurrection. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin*.

United by the consciousness of such unpardonable stretches of authority, and well acquainted with the imperious character of the princes of Lorraine, the protestant part of the Scottish parliament, seeing no safety for themselves but in the protection of England, dispatched ambassadors to Elizabeth, to express their sincere gratitude for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them. Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reason to desire an union with these northern reformers. Though the disorders in France had obliged the princes of Lorraine to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of the success of the English arms, they were determined not to relinquish their authority, nor yield to the violence of their enemies. Nor had they yet laid aside their design of subverting Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary, whose councils were still wholly directed by them, obstinately refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and persisted in assuming the title and arms of England. Aware of the danger attending such pretensions, Elizabeth not only promised support to the protestant party in Scotland, but secretly encouraged the French malcontents; and it was with pleasure that she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the court of France, and of the formidable opposition against the measures of the duke of Guise.

But that opposition must soon have been crushed by the vigorous and decisive administration of the princes of Lorraine, if an unexpected event had not set bounds to their power: They had already found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they had thrown the former into prison; they had obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put it into execution, when the sudden death of Francis II. arrested the uplifted blow, and brought down the duke of Guise to the level of a subject. Catherine of Medicis the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to her son Charles IX. only ten years of age at his accession, and invested with the administration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In consequence of her maxim "divide and govern!" the king of

* Robertson. Hume.

Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence against Condé was annulled; the constable Montmorency was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorraine, though they still enjoyed high offices and great power, found a counterpoise to the weight of their influence.

C H A P. VIII.

*Arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in her native Kingdom
—Her marriage with Lord Darnley—Murder of Rizzio
—Bothwell—Murder of Darnley—Death and Character
of Mary—James VI.—Literature.*

THE death of Francis II. without issue by the queen of Scots, and the change which it produced in the French councils, at once freed the queen of England from the perils attending an union of Scotland with France, and the Scottish protestants from the terror of the French power. The joy of the congregation was extreme. They ascribed those events to the immediate interposition of Providence, in favour of his chosen people; and Elizabeth without looking so high for their causes, determined to take advantage of their effects, in order more firmly to establish her throne. She still regarded the queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, on account of the number of English catholics, who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, and would now adhere to her with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom. She therefore gave orders to the ambassador at the court of France, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

Mary slighted by the queen-mother, who imputed to that princess all the mortifications she had met with during the life of Francis; forsaken by the swarm of courtiers, who appear only in the sunshine of prosperity, and overwhelmed with all the sorrow which so sad a reverse of fortune could occasion, had retired to Rheims; and there, in solitude, indulged her grief, or hid her indignation. But notwithstanding her disconsolate condition, and though she had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms, or assuming the

the title of England, she still eluded ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and refused to make any solemn renunciation of her pretensions to the English crown.

Meanwhile James Stuart prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, arrived at Rheims, in deputation from the states of Scotland, inviting the queen to return into her native kingdom. But Mary, though severely sensible she was no longer queen of France, was in no haste to leave a country, where she had been educated from her earliest infancy, and where so many attentions had been paid to her person as well as to her rank. Accustomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gaiety of a splendid court, and to the conversation of a polished people, by whom she had been loved and admired, she still fondly lingered in the scene of all these enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her native subjects, who had so violently spurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her uncles, however, she determined at last to set out for Scotland; and as the course in sailing from France to that kingdom, lies, along the English coast, she demanded of Elizabeth, by the French ambassador D'Oisel, a safe conduct during her voyage. That request, which decency alone obliged one sovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected in such a manner as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a design either to obstruct the passage or intercept the person of the queen of Scots.

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to Throgmorton, the English ambassador, "How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell; however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as having asked with so much importunity a favour, which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country, without her leave, as I came to France in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person*." She embarked on board a galley at Calais; and passing the English fleet, under cover of a thick fog, arrived safely at

Leith, attended by the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, three of her uncles of the house of Lorraine, together with the marquis of Damville and other French courtiers.

The circumstances of Mary's departure from France are truly affecting. The excess of her grief seems to have proceeded from a fatal presage of that scene of misfortune on which she was about to enter. Not satisfied with mingling tears with her mournful attendants, and bidding them adieu with a sorrowful heart, she kept her eyes fixed upon the French coast, after she was at sea, and never turned them from that darling object, till darkness fell and intercepted it from her view. Even then, she would neither retire to the cabin, nor taste food; but, commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited with fond impatience the return of the day. Fortune soothed her on this occasion. The weather proving calm, the galley made but little way during the night, so that Mary, at morning, had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat upon her couch, and still anxiously looking toward the land, often repeated with a sigh, "Farewel, France! Farewel, beloved country, which I shall never more behold*."

The first appearance of affairs in Scotland, was more favourable than Mary had reason to expect. She was received by her subjects with the loudest acclamations of joy, and every demonstration of welcome and regard. Being now in her nineteenth year, the bloom of youth, and the beauty and gracefulness of her person, drew universal admiration, while her elegant manners and enlightened understanding commanded general respect. To the accomplishments of her own sex, she added many of the acquisitions of our's. She was skilled in most languages, ancient as well as modern. The progress she had made in poetry, music, rhetoric, and all the arts and sciences then esteemed useful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by the sons or daughters of royalty, who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of a crown; and a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a sovereign, steals on the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation, rendered all her other qualities more engaging.

The first measures of Mary's administration confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour. According to the advice of D'Oisel and her uncles, she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the protestant party, who were alone able, she found, to support her government.

* Brantome.

The prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and under him, Maitland of Lethington, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon persons more agreeable to her people.

But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and deprived Mary of that general favour which her amiable manners and prudent measures gave her just reasons to expect. She was still a papist; and and although she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to submit to the reformed religion, as established by parliament, the more zealous protestants could neither be reconciled to a person polluted by such an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with much difficulty she obtained permission to celebrate mass in her own chapel. "Shall that idol again be suffered to be erected within the realm?" was the common cry; and the usual prayers in the churches were, that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against his truth; or if his holy will be otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants. Nay, lord Lindsey and the gentlemen of Fife exclaimed, "The *Idolater* shall die the death!"

The ringleader in all these insults on majesty was John Knox; who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was JEZABEL; and though she endeavoured by the most gracious condescension to win his favour, all her kind advances could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. The pulpits became mere stages for railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendants.

Curbed in all amusements, by the absurd severity of these reformers, Mary, whose age, condition and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, found reason every moment to look back with a sigh to that country which she had left. After the departure of the French courtiers, her life was one scene of bitterness and sorrow. And she perceived that her only expedient for entertaining tranquillity, while surrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, was to preserve a friendly correspondence with Elizabeth; who, by former connections and services, had acquired much authority over all ranks of men in Scotland,

Scotland. She therefore sent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the English queen, and express a desire of future good understanding between them. Maitland was also instructed, to signify Mary's willingness to renounce all present right to the crown of England, provided she was declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the succession, in case the queen should die without offspring. But so great was the jealous prudence of Elizabeth, that she never would hazard the weakening of her authority by naming a successor, or allow the parliament to interpose in that matter; much less would she make, or permit such a nomination to be made, in favour of a rival queen, who possessed pretensions so plausible to supplant her, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Sensible, however, that reason would be thought to lie wholly on Mary's side, as she herself had frequently declared her resolution to live and die a virgin-queen, she thenceforth ceased to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

Elizabeth saw, that without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects. Having therefore no apprehensions from Scotland, nor any desire to take part at present in its affairs, she directed her attention to other objects. After concerting the necessary measures for the security of her kingdom and the happiness of her people, she turned an eye of observation toward the great powers on the continent. France being still agitated by religious factions, big with all the horrors of civil war, excited less the jealousy than the compassion of its neighbours; so that Spain, of all the European kingdoms, could alone be considered as the formidable rival of England. Accordingly an animosity, first political, then personal, soon appeared between the sovereigns of the two crowns.

Philip II. as has been already observed, immediately after concluding the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, commenced a furious persecution against the protestants in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. That violent spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, gave new edge even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who had been confessor to his father Charles V. and in whose arms that great prince had breathed his last. This venerable ecclesiastic died in confinement; but Philip ordered, nevertheless, the sentence of heresy to be pronounced against his memory; he even deli-

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berated whether he should not exercise like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his latter years, of indulging a propensity towards Lutheranism. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. He appeared with an inflexible countenance at the most barbarous executions; and he issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics, even in his American dominions. The limits of the globe seemed only enlarged to extend human misery.

Having founded his deliberate tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, Philip made it evident to all his subjects, that there were no means of escaping the severity of his vengeance, except by the most abject compliance or obstinate resistance. And by thus placing himself at the head of the catholic party, the determined champion of the Romish church, he every where converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness.

Happily the adherents of the new doctrines were not without a supporter, nor the Spanish greatness without a counterpoise. The course of events had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite to that of Philip. Fortune guiding choice, and concurring with policy and inclination, had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the stay of the numerous, but generally persecuted protestants throughout Europe. And she united her interests, in all foreign negociations, with those who were struggling for their civil and religious liberties, or guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. Hence the animosity between her and Philip.

While the queen of Scots continued in France, and asserted her claim to the southern British kingdom, the dread of uniting England to the French monarch, engaged the king of Spain to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. But no sooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehensions in regard to Mary's succession, than his rancour began openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and England were found opposite in every negociation and public transaction. Philip, contrary to the received maxims of policy in that age, saw an advantage in supporting the power of the French monarch; and Elizabeth, by a concurrence of circumstances no less singular, in protecting a faction ready to subvert it.

Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother of France, in consequence of her maxim of dividing in order to govern, only increased the troubles of the state. By balancing the catholics against the protestants, the duke of Guise against the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both,
and

and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. But an equal counterpoise A. D. 1562. of power, which, among foreign nations, is the source of tranquillity, proves always the cause of quarrel among domestic factions; and if the animosities of religion concur with the frequent occasions of mutual injury, it is impossible to preserve, for any time, a firm concord in such a situation. Moved by zeal for the ancient faith, the constable Montmorency joined himself to the duke of Guise; the king of Navarre, from his inconstant temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party; and the queen-mother, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection.

An edict had been published in the beginning of the year, granting to the Hugonots or protestants, the free exercise of their religion, without the walls of towns; provided they taught nothing contrary to the council of Nice, to the Apostles' Creed, or the books of the Old and New Testament. This edict had been preceded by a famous conference, held at Poissy, between the divines of the two religions; in which the cardinal of Lorraine, on the part of the catholics, and the learned Theodore Beza, on that of the protestants, displayed, beyond others, their eloquence and powers of argument. The protestant divines boasted of having greatly the advantage in the dispute, and the concession of liberty of conscience, made their followers happy in that opinion. But the interested violence of the duke of Guise, or the intemperate zeal of his attendants, broke once more the tranquillity of religion, and gave a beginning to a frightful civil war. Passing by the little town of Vassy, on the frontiers of Champagne, where some protestants having assembled in a barn under the sanction of the edict, were peaceably worshipping God in their own way, his retinue wantonly insulted them. A tumult ensued: the duke himself was struck, it is said, with a stone: and sixty of the unarmed multitude were sacrificed in revenge of that pretended or provoked injury, and in open violation of the public faith*.

The protestants all over the kingdom, were alarmed at this massacre, and assembled in arms under Condé, Coligny, and Andelot, their most distinguished leaders; while the duke of Guise and the constable Montmorency, having got possession of the king's person, obliged the queen-mother to join the catholic party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each

* Henault.

city, each family, was distracted with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son, brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity, as well as their timidity, to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of valour and cruelty. Wherever the protestants prevailed the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire; and where success attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptised the infants, and forced married persons to pass anew through the ceremony. Plunder, desolation, and blood-shed, attended equally the triumph of both parties; and, to use the words of a profound historian, it was during that period, "when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and acrimony*."

Philip II. jealous of the progress of the hugonots, who had made themselves masters of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angiers, Angoulême, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and other places of less note; and afraid that the contagion might spread into the Low Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Lorraine, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. In consequence of that alliance, he now sent six thousand men to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unable to oppose so strong a confederacy countenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave the assistance of the queen of England. As an inducement, he offered to put her in possession of Havre de Grace; on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of the place, she should likewise send over other three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furnish him with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns.

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives to induce her to accept of this proposal. She was now sensible, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article in the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, which regarded the restitution of Calais; and wisely concluded that could she get possession of Havre de Grace, which commands the mouth of the Seine, she should easily constrain the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of restoring Calais to England. She therefore sent over immediately three thousand men, under the command of sir Edward Poynings, and three

* Hume.

thousand more soon after, under the earl of Warwick, who took possession of Havre. But Rouen having been invested by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and the constable Montmorency, before the arrival of the English, it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a small reinforcement into the place; and although the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the catholics still continued the attack with vigour. The town was at last carried by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword.

It was now expected that the catholics, flushed with success, would immediately form the siege of Havre, which was as yet in no state of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to another enterprize. Andelot, seconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable army in Germany; and arriving at Orleans, the seat of the protestant power in France, he enabled the prince of Condé and Coligny to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris for sometime, they took their march toward Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them. The catholics commanded by Montmorency, and under him by the duke of Guise, hung on the rear of the Hugonots, and overtaking them near Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with much obstinacy on both sides, and the action was distinguished by a very singular event. Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, both remained prisoners in the hands of their enemies: and what is yet more singular, the prince not only supped at the same table, but lay all night in the same bed with his hostile rival the duke of Guise *!

So unaccountable were the manners of that age, which could blend the most rancorous animosity with a familiar hospitality, that appears altogether disgusting in these days of superior refinement.

The semblance of victory remained with the catholics; but Coligny, whose lot it was ever to be defeated, and ever to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the protestant army, and inspiring his own unconquerable courage into every breast, not only kept them in a body, but took some considerable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, in order to enable him to support the cause of his party, sent over a new supply of an hundred thousand crowns. Meanwhile the duke of Guise, aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Hugonots, had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot

A. D. 1563.

* Mezeray.

was governor, and where Montmorency was detained prisoner: and he had the prospect of speedy success in his undertaking, when he was assassinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot, whose fanatical zeal for the interests of the protestant religion instigated him to that atrocious violence.

The death of this great man was an irreparable loss to the catholic party. His brother the cardinal of Lorrain, though eloquent, subtle, and intriguing, wanted that enterprising and undaunted spirit, which had rendered the ambition of the duke so formidable; and therefore, though he still pursued the bold schemes of his family, the danger of their progress appeared not now so imminent either to Elizabeth or the French protestants. Of course, the union between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, was in some measure loosened; and the leaders of the Hugonots were persuaded to listen to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency, equally tired of captivity, accordingly held conferences for that purpose, and soon came to an agreement with respect to the conditions. A toleration of their religion under certain restrictions, was again granted to the protestants; a general amnesty was published, and every one was reinstated in his offices, dignities, and all civil rights and privileges.

The leaders of the protestants only comprehended Elizabeth so far in this treaty as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre de Grace her charges and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France; and that Calais, on the expiration of the stipulated term, should be restored to her. Disdaining to accept these conditions, she sent Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The garrison of Havre consisted of six thousand men, independent of seven hundred pioneers: and a resolute defence was expected. But a contagious distemper made its appearance among the English troops; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, made such ravages in a short time, that there did not remain fifteen hundred men in a condition to do duty. Warwick, who had frequently warned the English ministry of his danger, and loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, was therefore obliged to capitulate, and content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison*.

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had failed her in this transaction, now found it necessary to accede to a compromise; and as the queen-mother of France desired to

* Forbes.

obtain leisure, in order to concert measures for the extirpation of the Hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was accordingly agreed, that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be delivered up for two hundred and twenty thousand crowns; and that both parties should retain all their pretensions.

Peace still subsisted between England and Scotland; and a cordial friendship even seemed to have taken place between Elizabeth and Mary. They made professions of the most sincere affection: they wrote complimentary letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as the style of sisters. But the negotiations for the marriage of the queen of Scots awakened anew the jealousy of Elizabeth, and roused the zeal of the Scottish reformers. Mary's hand was solicited. A. D. 1564. by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third son; by Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spanish monarchy; and by the duke of Anjou, her former husband's brother, who succeeded soon after to the crown of France. Either of those foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth, and to Mary's protestant subjects. She therefore resolved, notwithstanding the arguments of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to sacrifice her ambition to domestic peace; and as Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lennox, was the first British subject whom sound policy seemed to point out to her choice, she determined to make him the partner of her sway.

Darnley was Mary's cousin-german by lady Margaret Douglas, neice to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was, after herself, next heir to the English crown. He was also, by his father, a branch of her own family; and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had constantly resided, since banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton; and as Elizabeth had often intimated to the queen of Scots, that nothing would so completely allay all jealousy between them, as Mary's espousing an English nobleman, the prospect of the ready approbation of that rival queen was an additional motive for the proposed marriage.

But although Mary, as queen, seemed to be solely influenced by political considerations in the choice of a royal consort, she had other motives, as a woman, for singling out Darnley as a husband. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall, and well proportioned, and surpassed all the men of his time in every exterior grace. He eminently excelled

in all the arts, which displayed a handsome person to advantage, and which, in polished nations, are dignified with the name of elegant accomplishments. Mary was at an age, and of a complexion, to feel the force of such attractions. Lord Darnley accordingly made a conquest of her heart at their first interview. And it cannot be doubted but she made a deep impression upon his. Thus inclination conspired with policy to promote their union; nor was it once suspected, that any opposition would be made by the English queen.

Secretly Elizabeth was not displeased with Mary's choice; as it freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the necessity of parting with the earl of Leicester, her own handsome favourite, whom she had proposed as a husband to the queen of Scots. But besides a womanish jealousy and envy, proceeding from a consciousness of Mary's superior charms, which led her on all occasions to thwart the matrimonial views of that princess, certain ungenerous political motives, induced her to shew a disapprobation of the projected marriage with Darnley, though she either did not wish, or was sensible that she could not obstruct it. By declaring her dissatisfaction with Mary's conduct, Elizabeth hoped to alarm the party in Scotland that was attached to the English interest; and to raise, by their means, intestine commotions, which would not only secure her own kingdom from all disturbance on that side, but enable her to become the umpire between the Scottish queen and her contending subjects.

The scheme immediately succeeded in part, and afterward had its full effect. The earl of Murray, and other protestant noblemen, were the dupes of Elizabeth's intrigues. Under pretence of zeal for the reformed religion, because the family of Lennox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith, but in reality to support their own sinking authority, they formed among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence. They entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, in order to secure Elizabeth's assistance, when it should become necessary; and despairing of being able to prevent the marriage of the queen of Scots by any other means, they concerted measures for seizing Darnley, and carrying him prisoner into England. They failed, however, in the attempt; and Mary having obtained the general consent of the Scottish nation, and being anxious to bring to a period an affair which had long engaged her heart, and occupied her attention, celebrated her marriage A. D. 1565. with the captivating young nobleman who had been the object of their conspiracy.

Conscious

Conscious that all hopes of reconciliation were now at an end, the associated lords assembled their followers and flew to arms; but by the vigour and activity of Mary, who appeared herself at the head of her troops, rode with loaded pistols, and endured, with admirable fortitude, all the fatigues of war, the rebels were obliged to fly into England. There they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and which strongly marks the character of Elizabeth. That politic princess had already effectually served her purpose, by exciting in Scotland, through their means, such discord and jealousies as would in all probability long distract and weaken Mary's government. It was now her business to save appearances; and as the malcontents had failed of success, she thought proper to disavow all connexion with them. She would not even grant an audience to the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, appointed by the other fugitives to wait on her, till they had meanly consented to acknowledge, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, who accused her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues, that she had given them no encouragement to take up arms. "You have spoken the truth!" replied she, as soon as they had made this declaration: "I am far from setting an example of rebellion to my own subjects, by countenancing those who rebel against their lawful sovereign. The treason of which you have been guilty, is detestable; and as traitors, I banish you my presence." So little feeling had she for men, who out of confidence in her promises had hazarded their lives and fortunes to serve her!

The Scottish exiles, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and Mary, whose temper naturally inclined her to lenity, seemed determined to restore them to favour, when the arrival of an ambassador from France altered her resolution. The peace granted to the reformers A. D. 1566. in that kingdom, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. For this purpose, an interview had been appointed at Bayonne, between Charles IX. now in his sixteenth year, and his sister the queen of Spain. Catherine of Medicis accompanied her son; the duke of Alva attended his mistress. Gaity, festivity, love, and joy, seemed to be the sole occupation of both courts; but under these smiling appearances was hatched a scheme the most bloody and the most destructive to the repose of mankind that had ever been suggested by superstition to the human heart. Nothing less was resolved upon and concerted than the extermination of the Hugonots in France, the protestants in the Low Coun-

tries, and the extinction of the reformed opinions throughout all Europe.

Of this catholic or *holy league* (for so that detestable conspiracy was called) an account was brought, by the French ambassador, to the queen of Scots; conjuring her at the same time, in the name of the king of France, and the cardinal of Lorraine, not to restore the leaders of the protestants in her kingdom to power and favour, at the very time when the popish princes on the continent were combined for the total extirpation of that sect. Deeply tinctured with all the prejudices of popery, and devoted with the most humble submission to her uncles, the princes of Lorraine, whose counsels from her infancy she had been accustomed to receive with filial respect, Mary instantly joined the confederacy:—and hence the change of her resolution in regard to the banished lords.

The effects of this new system were soon visible in the conduct of the queen of Scots. The parliament was summoned for the attainder of the rebels, whose guilt was palpable, and some measures were concerted for re-establishing the Romish religion in Scotland; so that the ruin of Murray and his party seemed now inevitable, and the destruction of the reformed church no distant event, when an unexpected incident saved both, and brought on, in the sequel, the ruin of Mary herself.

The incident to which I allude, is the murder of David Rizzio; a man whose birth and education afforded little reason to suppose that he should ever attract the historian's notice, but whose tragical death, and its consequences, make it necessary to record his adventures. The son of a teacher of music at Turin, and himself a musician, Rizzio had accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, where he gained admittance into the queen's family by his skill in his profession; and as Mary found him necessary to complete her musical band, she retained him in her service, by permission, after the departure of his master. Shrewd, subtle, and aspiring beyond his condition, he quickly crept into the queen's favour; and her French secretary happening to retire into his own country, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunity of approaching her person, and of insinuating himself still farther into her good graces. He now began to make a figure at court, and to appear as a man of weight and consequence: and he availed himself so well of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded not only as the queen's chief confidant, but even as her minister. To him the whole train of suitors and expectants applied; and, among the rest, Darnley, whose marriage

marriage Rizzio promoted, in hopes of acquiring a new patron, while he co-operated with his mistress's wishes.

But this marriage, so natural and so inviting in all its circumstances, disappointed the expectations both of the queen and her favourite, and terminated in events the most shocking to humanity. Allured by the stature, symmetry, and exterior accomplishments of Darnley, Mary in her choice had over-looked the qualities of his mind, which corresponded ill with those of his person. Violent, yet variable, in his temper, she could neither by her gentleness bridle his insolent and imperious spirit, nor preserve him by her vigilance from rash and imprudent actions. Of mean understanding, but, like most fools, conceited of his own abilities, he was devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, to drunkenness and debauchery, he was incapable of any true sentiments of love or tenderness. All Mary's fondness and generosity made no lasting impression on such a heart. He became, by degrees, careless of her person, and a stranger to her company. To a woman and a queen such behaviour was intolerable; but more especially to Mary, who possessed great sensibility of temper, and who, in the first effusions of her love, had taken a pride in exalting her husband beyond measure. She had granted him the title of King, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts. Her disappointed passion was therefore as violent, when roused into resentment, as her first affection had been strong; and his behaviour appeared ungenerous and criminal, in proportion to the distance she had stooped to raise him, and the honour and consequence to which she had lifted him.

The heart, sore from the wounds and the agitations of unrequited love, naturally seeks the repose, the consolation, and the lenient assuages of friendship. Rizzio still possessed the confidence of Mary; and as the brutal behaviour of her husband rendered a confidant now more necessary, she seems not only to have made use of her secretary's company, and his musical talents, to soothe her disquieted bosom, but, to have imprudently shared with him her domestics griefs. But the assuming vanity of the upstart, who affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and who boasted of his intimacy in private; the dark and suspicious mind of Darnley, who, instead of imputing Mary's coldness to his own misconduct, which had so justly deserved it, ascribed the change in her behaviour (so different from the first and happy days of their union!) to the influence of a new passion, together with the rigid austerity of the Scottish clergy, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to spread their opinion among the peo-

ple, ever ready to listen to any slander on the court; and the enemies of the favourite, no less ready to take advantage of any popular clamour, made it a pretence for their unjust and inhuman vengeance.

Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Roman Catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and adherents. Among these were the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, the earl of Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. While they were ruminating upon their grievances, and the means of redress, the king communicated his resolution to be avenged of Rizzio to lord Ruthven, and implored his assistance and that of his friends toward the execution of his design. Nothing could be more acceptable to the whole party than such an overture. The murder of the favourite was instantly agreed upon, and as quickly carried into execution. Morton having secured the gates of the palace with an hundred and sixty armed men, the king, accompanied by other conspirators, entered the queen's apartment, by a private passage, while she was at supper with her natural sister, the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few more of her courtiers, Mary, who was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, alarmed at such an unusual visit, demanded the reason of this rude intrusion. They answered her by pointing to Rizzio; who immediately apprehending that he was the devoted victim, retired behind the queen's chair, and seized her by the waist, hoping that the respect due to her royal person would prove some protection to him. But the conspirators had gone too far to be restrained by punctilios. George Douglas, one of their number, laying hold of Darnley's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rizzio; who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary, and pushed into the antichamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds; the unhappy princess continuing her lamentations, while they were perpetrating their horrid intent. Being informed however of his fate, Mary at once dried her tears, and said "I will weep no more, I will now think of revenge." She therefore concealed her resentment, and so far imposed upon Darnley, her husband, that he put himself under her protection, and soon after attended her to Edinburgh, where he was told the place would be favourable to his declining health. Mary lived in the palace of Holyrood-house; but as the situation of that place was low, and the concourse of persons about the court necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk

of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and slept some nights in a room near to him. It was on the ninth of February that she told him she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be there celebrated in her presence. But dreadful consequences ensued. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noise. The house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gunpowder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, without any marks of violence or contusion*. No doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell, a person lately taken into Mary's favour, as the perpetrator.

One crime led on to another. Bothwell, though accused of being stained with her husband's blood, and though universally odious to the people, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling, on a visit to her son, to seize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horse, and to carry her to Dunbar, but seemingly with her own consent; for a very respectable writer, who was himself one of Mary's attendants, tells us "not only that he saw no signs of reluctance, but that he was informed the whole transaction was managed in concert with her †." It was then thought by the people that the measure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was supposed to kill the queen's husband, and to have offered violence to her person, could expect no mercy. But they were astonished upon finding, instead of disgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and to crown all, that he was married to Mary, having divorced his own wife to procure this union. Some suspicion had always been entertained that the queen was no stranger to the crime of her husband's murder; and her subsequent conduct, with regard to Bothwell, afforded a strong presumption of their mutual guilt‡. The consequence of which was an insurrection of her subjects, from whom she fled into England, where she was ungenerously detained a prisoner for eighteen years; and afterwards, on motives of state policy, beheaded by queen Elizabeth, in the forty-sixth year of her age. A. D. 1587.

The political parties which were formed in the kingdom, during her reign, have subsisted under various denominations, ever since that time. The rancour with which they were at first animated hath descended to succeeding ages, and their

* Spotswood. † Melvil. ‡ Anderson. Keith. Knox. Goodal.

prejudices, as well as their rage, have been perpetuated, and even augmented. Among historians, who were under the dominion of all these passions, and who have either ascribed to her every virtuous and amiable quality, or have imputed to her all the vices, of which the human heart is susceptible, we search in vain for Mary's real character. She neither merited the exaggerated praises of the one, nor the undistinguishing censure of the other.

To all the charms of beauty, and the utmost elegance of external form, she added those accomplishments which render their impression irresistible. Polite, affable, insinuating, sprightly, and capable of speaking and of writing with equal ease and dignity;—sudden, however, and violent in all her attachments, because her heart was warm and unsuspicious;—impatient of contradiction, because she had been accustomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen;—no stranger, on some occasions, to dissimulation; which, in that perfidious court where she received her education, was reckoned among the necessary arts of government;—not insensible of flattery, or unconscious of that pleasure, with which almost every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty;—formed with the qualities which we love, not with the talents that we admire, she was an agreeable woman, rather than an illustrious queen. The vivacity of her spirit not sufficiently tempered with sound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not at all times under the restraint of discretion, betrayed her both into errors, and into crimes. To say that she was always unfortunate, will not account for that long and almost uninterrupted succession of calamities which beset her; we must likewise add, that she was often imprudent. Her passion for Darnley was rash, youthful, and excessive; and though the sudden transition to the opposite extreme was the natural effect of ill-requited love, and of his ingratitude, insolence, and brutality, yet neither these, nor Bothwell's artful address, and artful services can justify her attachment to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy passion; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous scene which followed upon it with less abhorrence. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character which it cannot approve, and may, perhaps, prompt some to impute several of her actions to her situation, more than to her disposition; and to lament the unhappiness of the former, rather than accuse the perverseness of the latter. Mary's sufferings exceed, both in degree and in duration, those tragical distresses which fancy has feigned to excite sorrow and commiseration; and while we survey them, we are apt altogether to forget her

her frailties; we think of her faults with less indignation, and approve of our tears, as if they were shed for a person, who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the queen's person, all contemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance, and elegance of shape, of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black, though, according to the fashion of that age, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her complexion was exquisitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of an height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taste for music was just, and she both sung and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Towards the end of her life, long confinement, and the coldness of the houses in which she had been imprisoned, brought on a rheumatism, which often deprived her of the use of her limbs. "No man," says a sensible writer, "ever beheld her person without admiration and love, or will read her history without sorrow *."

James VI. succeeded his unfortunate mother in Scotland, and, on the death of Elizabeth, acceded to the throne of England by the title of James I. From this period the history of Scotland is closely interwoven with the affairs of England. In the reign of queen Anne, the two kingdoms were united, and took the stile A. D. 1707. and title of Great Britain.

The destruction of the Scotch monuments of *learning* and *antiquity* has rendered their early annals lame, and often fabulous; but the Latin style of *Buchanan's History* is to this day the most classical of all modern productions. The discovery of the *logarithms*, a discovery which in point of ingenuity and utility, may vie with any that has been made in modern times, is the indisputable right of Napier of Merchiston. Of all the writers on *astronomy*, Gregory is allowed to be one of the most perfect and elegant. Maclaurin, the companion and the friend of sir Isaac Newton, was endowed with all that precision and force of mind, which rendered him peculiarly fitted for bringing down the ideas of that great man to the level of ordinary apprehensions, and for diffusing that light through the world, which Newton had confined within the sphere of the learned. Dr. Simson's *Elements of Euclid*, and his *Conic Sections*, are sufficient of themselves to establish the scientific reputation of his country. In medicine, the names of Pitcairn, Arbuthnot, Monro, Smellie, and Cullen, hold a distinguished place.

* Brantome.

Nor have the Scots been unsuccessful in cultivating the Belles Lettres. Foreigners who inhabit warmer climates, and conceive the northern nations incapable of tenderness and feeling, are astonished at the poetic genius and delicate sensibility of Thomson. But of all literary pursuits, that of rendering mankind more virtuous and happy, which is the proper object of what is called *morals*, ought to be regarded with peculiar honour and respect. The philosophy of Dr. Hutcheson, not to mention other works more subtle and elegant, but less convincing and less instructive, deserves to be read by all who would know their duty, or who would wish to practise it. Next to Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, it is perhaps the best dissection of the human mind that hath appeared in modern times, and it is likewise the most useful supplement to that Essay. In historical composition Hume and Robertson are unrivalled.

CHAP. IX.

IRELAND.

Ancient Irish—Roderic O'Connor—Conquest of Ireland by Henry II.

THE Irish antiquaries carry their history up to about five hundred years before the christian æra, at which time they assert, that a colony of Scythians, immediately from Spain, settled in Ireland, where they introduced the Phœnician language and letters. About the middle of the fifth century, the great apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick, was employed in the propagation of Christianity in this country. After this period, Ireland was occasionally invaded by the Saxon kings of England; the Danes also and the Normans, or, as they were called, the Easterlings, invaded the coasts of Ireland, and were the first who erected stone edifices in that kingdom. The common habitations of the Irish, till that time, were hurdles covered with straw and rushes, and but very few of solid timber. The natives defended themselves bravely against the Easterlings, who built Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Wexford, and Cork; but they resided chiefly at Dublin, or in its neigh-

neighbourhood, which, by the Old Irish, was called Fingal, or the *Land of Strangers* *.

In the twelfth century, Henry the Second of England formed a design of annexing Ireland to his dominions. * He is said to have been induced to this by the provocation he had received from some of the Irish chieftains, who had afforded considerable assistance to his enemies. His design was patronized by the pope, and a fair pretext of attacking Ireland offered about the year 1168. Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, and an oppressive tyrant, quarrelled with all his neighbours, and carried off the wife of a petty prince, O'Roirk. A confederacy being formed against him, under Roderic O'Connor (who it seems was the paramount king of Ireland) he was driven from his country, and took refuge in the court of Henry II. who promised to restore him, upon taking an oath of fidelity to the crown of England for himself, and all the petty kings depending on him, who were very numerous. Henry, who was then in France, recommended Mac Dermot's cause to the English barons, and particularly to Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, Robert Fitz Stephen, and Maurice Fitz Gerald. Those noblemen undertook the expedition upon much the same principles as the Norman and Breton lords did the conquest of England under William I. and Strongbow was to marry Mac Dermot's daughter Eva. In 1169, the adventurers reduced the towns of Wexford and Waterford; and the next year Strongbow arriving with a strong reinforcement, his marriage was celebrated.

The descendants of the Danes continued still possessed of Dublin, which, after some ineffectual opposition made by king O'Connor, was taken and plundered by the English soldiers; but Mac Turkil, the Danish king, escaped to his shipping. Upon the death of Dermot, Henry II. became jealous of earl Strongbow, seized upon his estate in England and Wales, and recalled his subjects from Ireland. The Irish, about the same time, to the amount of above sixty thousand, besieged Dublin, under king O'Connor; but though all Strongbow's Irish friends and allies had now left him, and the city was reduced to great extremity, he forced the Irish to raise the siege with great loss; and going over to England, he appealed Henry by swearing fealty to him and his heirs, and resigning into his hand all the Irish cities and forts he held. During Strongbow's absence, Mac Turkil returned with a great fleet, attempted to retake the city of Dublin, but was killed at the siege; and in him ended the race of the Easterling princes in Ireland.

* Dr. Leland.

Henry II. attended by four hundred knights, four thousand veteran soldiers, and the flower of his English nobility, landed near Waterford. The professed design of his expedition was not to conquer but to take possession of a country granted to him by the pope, and to exercise a sovereignty which he affected to believe must be acknowledged and obeyed without the least difficulty or reluctance. Amidst the acclamations of joy at the arrival of this new sovereign *, earl Strongbow made a formal surrender of Waterford, and did homage to Henry for the principality of Leinster. The men of Wexford were at hand with their prisoner Fitz-Stephen, whom they presented to the king, repeating their accusations, and imploring justice against their tyrant and oppressor. Henry received them with an affected commiseration of their wrongs, too gross to impose on any but the rude and inexperienced; assured them of his protection, and sternly reproaching Fitz-Stephen for his presumption, remanded him to prison. The Irish were rejoiced to find that they had not only escaped the punishment due to their perfidy and cruelty, but that they had involved their enemy in danger and disgrace; and Fitz-Stephen was the less mortified, as he well knew the purchase of his liberty, and that he must of necessity resign all his Irish acquisitions to the king.

The fame of his intended expedition had for some time been spread through Ireland, and its influence upon the several toparchs was soon discovered. Dermot Mac-Arthy, prince of Desmond, was the first chieftain who submitted and acknowledged the sovereignty of Henry. On the very day after his arrival this Irish prince attended at his court, resigned his city of Corke to the king, did him homage, and stipulated to pay a tribute for the rest of his territory, which on these conditions he was to enjoy without further molestation or restraint. An English governor and garrison were immediately appointed to take possession of his capital, while the king displayed his power and magnificence by marching to Lisnmore, where he chose a situation, and gave the necessary orders and directions for building a fort †. From thence proceeding to Cashel, we are told he had an interview with the archbishop of this see; and possibly might have deemed it useful to possess this prelate, the first of the Irish clergy who appeared before him, with an opinion of his gracious intentions to his country, and his zeal for the regulation of its church. Nor were these short excursions without their influence, in striking the inhabitants with an awful and ter-

* Giraldus Cambrensis.

† Regan.

rible impression of his power. A formidable army hovering about the districts of each petty chieftain, when each was left to his own resources for defence, quickened their resolves, and conquered all remains of pride, or reluctance in submitting to the invader. O'Brien of Thomond thought it dangerous to delay, and meeting Henry on the banks of the Sure, surrendered his city of Limerick, and did homage for his other territory, engaging to pay him tribute. Donchad of Offory, dreading the advantages which his rival might acquire by his forward zeal, hastened to the king, and submitted to become his tributary and vassal. O'Faolan of the Decies followed these examples, and all the inferior chiefs of Munster vied with each other in the alacrity of their submission. All were received with gracious assurances of favour and protection, entertained with magnificence, loaded with presents, and dismissed with deep impressions of the grandeur and condescension of this powerful monarch.

He returned to Wexford; and here, as it was no longer necessary to keep up the appearance of resentment to Fitz-Stephen, his barons were permitted to intercede for a brave subject, who had not willingly or intentionally offended, for whose future fidelity they were all ready to become sureties, and who was himself prepared to give the best surety for his allegiance, by a formal resignation of all his Irish possessions to his sovereign. Fitz-Stephen was set at liberty, and surrendered Wexford and its territory to the king, doing homage for the rest of his acquisitions, which he was allowed to retain from Henry and his heirs.

And now, having provided for the security of Munster, and stationed his garrisons in the cities of Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, Henry determined to proceed to Dublin, to take possession of this city in due form, which had been surrendered by earl Richard. He led his troops through Offory, in a slow and stately progress, so as to strike the rude inhabitants with the splendour and magnificence of his royal army, and give their chieftains an opportunity of repairing to his camp, and acknowledging his sovereignty. Their indifference to the interests of Roderic, as well as their terror of the English arms, soon determined them to make their peace with Henry. The Irish lords of Leinster deemed his service more honourable than a subjection to Strongbow, whose severity had rendered him an object of horror to the Irish, even from his first landing. As he advanced towards Dublin, the neighbouring lords all appeared and submitted; O'Carrol of Argial, a chieftain of still greater power and consequence, repaired to his camp, and in due form engaged to become his tributary: and to complete the mortification of Roderic,
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his old and intimate associate O'Ruarc of Breffney, whose interests he had supported, whose personal injuries he had revenged, whom he had made lord of a considerable part of Meath, so that Giraldus calls him king of Meath, abandoned his falling friend and ally, and became the willing vassal of this new sovereign.

Roderic, though confounded at the defection of his tributaries, and the formidable progress of his invader, harassed by the factions of this province, and afflicted by the dissensions of his family, yet could not at once resign his title to the monarchy of Ireland. And though sensible of the danger of encountering an English army, and little enabled by such numbers as he could collect to march out against the royal invader, he yet collected his provincial troops, and, entrenching himself upon the banks of the Shannon, seemed determined that his own territory at least should not be sacrificed to the ambition of Henry. Unencumbered by a crowd of faithless, discontented, and disobedient followers, he now appears to act with a spirit and dignity more suited to his station. Hugh de Lacy, and William Fitz-Andelm, were commissioned to meet this refractory prince, and either to persuade, or force him to a submission. But Roderic was too strong, and too well posted to be assailed by a detachment from the English army; and he at least affected to believe that his fortune was not yet so totally desperate as to warrant an immediate resignation of his dignity and authority, while his own territory remained inviolate, and the brave and powerful chiefs of Ulster still kept retired in their own districts without any thought of submission.

The Irish chieftains, who accepted Henry as their sovereign, and attended at his court, were received with all those conciliating expressions of favour, the common artifice of ambition, but which were peculiarly flattering to a people equally proud and inexperienced. It was the feast of Christmas, a season of general festivity, for which Henry prepared with such elegance and pomp as his present situation might permit, and such as were perfectly stupendous to his Irish followers. They flocked to Dublin from all quarters, in the eagerness of surprise and expectation. As the city afforded no building capable of receiving the royal train, and the numerous assembly of guests, a temporary structure was raised with hurdles after the Irish fashion, in the south-eastern suburbs, of large dimensions and richly ornamented; and here the vassal lords of Ireland were admitted freely, and feasted sumptuously. Piles of silver, costly meats, generous wines, dress, music, and attendants, all conspired to possess them with a vulgar admiration of their invader. Dazzled

by his grandeur, and intoxicated by his condescensions, they forgot the baseness of their submission, and fancied themselves exalted to a degree of consequence by being allied to such magnificence and splendor.

If we are to believe the English historians, the clergy of Ireland were still readier, and more abject in their submission to king Henry than the lords and toparchs. The abbot of Peterborough asserts, and is followed by Hovedon and others, that immediately on the king's arrival at Waterford, the whole body of the hierarchy attended him, received him as sovereign lord of Ireland, and swore fealty to him and his heirs; and that from each prelate he received a charter or instrument of their respective submissions, which the king took care to transmit to Rome. Giraldus, who was studious to display every particular which might do honour to his royal master, takes not the least notice of a transaction so extraordinary, and the Irish annalists are equally silent on that head.

But it is asserted with more probability, and on better authority, that Henry, having been acknowledged sovereign by a considerable part of the island, unmolested by those who had not yet submitted, and prevented by the severity of the season from any attempt to reduce them by force, affected to display his zeal and solicitude to fulfil the conditions of his grant from pope Adrian, by turning his attention to the church of Ireland, and labouring for the reformation of its supposed abuses. A synod of the clergy was summoned in his name, and assembled at Cashel by his order, to inquire into the present state of morals and religion. But whether this was a general assembly of all the Irish prelates may be fairly doubted. Gelasius, the primate of Armagh, a man highly revered by his countrymen, and who derived considerable influence from the sanctity of his character, certainly did not attend; and, as an apology, is said to have pleaded his age and infirmities; though these did not prevent him from holding another synod, convened soon after, in Connaught, by the authority of Roderic, and probably in opposition to that now summoned by Henry. The prelates of Ulster followed the example of their metropolitan. And if the prelate of Tuam, or Lawrence of Dublin, who had so zealously contended against the English, obeyed this summons, they might have deemed their presence necessary to preserve the honour of their church, to them a point of moment, from injurious representation; and by a readiness to correct what might really be found amiss, to deprive the invader of the great pretence for extending his hostilities.

Christian, bishop of Lismore, presided in this assembly as
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the pope's legate; in which character he had, about twenty years before, presided in the grand assembly of kings, prelates, and nobility, convened by order of cardinal Paparon. The abbot of Buldwais, the archdeacon of Landaff, and some others of the English clergy attended on the part of Henry, to forward the purposes of their master, and to observe the conduct of the Irish prelates. The professed design of this synod was, in obedience to the sovereign pontiff, to devise remedies for ignorance and wickedness, to eradicate every fibre of depravity and iniquity, and to restore the purity of their ecclesiastical constitution, now contaminated and disgraced; and the ordinances which were to answer such important purposes we find forbidding marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, directing that baptism should be publicly administered, youth instructed, tythes regularly paid, and the sands of the clergy exempted from secular exactions; that all true sons of the church should have power by will to distribute their effects in due proportion between their wives and children, and be decently interred in hallowed ground. Such was the plan of reformation which required the interposition of the pope, which obliged him to transfer the sovereignty of Ireland to a foreign prince, and demanded the presence of the English monarch and a royal army to enforce it! as if the same futile ordinances had not been repeatedly enacted in every synod, held in general annually by the Irish clergy, from that of Paparon to this of king Henry. The whole ridiculous scene was closed by a declaration highly flattering to the king, and expressed in terms of the most abject servility. It directs that the divine service in the church of Ireland shall for the future be in all things conformable to that of the church of England. "For it is meet and very just," say these reverend flatterers, "that as Ireland hath by Providence received a lord and king from England, so she may receive from the same a better form of living. For to his royal grandeur are both the church and realm of Ireland indebted for whatever they have hitherto obtained, either of the benefits of peace, or the encrease of religion; since, before his coming into Ireland, evils of various kinds had from old time gradually overspread the nation, which by his power and goodness are now abolished." Happy had it been for the peace and welfare of ages, had Henry by a few months residence in Ireland been really able to produce such blessed effects; but the adulation of these ecclesiastics is a subject too contemptible to dwell upon.

There are other acts of government which Henry exercised in Ireland that deserve more particular attention. Matthew

thew Paris writes, that he convened a council at Lismore, in which the laws of England were by all gratefully accepted and established by the sanction of a solemn oath. Whether the historian hath mistaken the place of assembling, and instead of a synod held under the bishop of Lismore, hath supposed another assembly in the town so named, seems of little moment. But the real nature of this grant and general acceptance of the laws of England deserves to be considered. And to this we shall be naturally led by a few reflections on what hath been already related, as well as to the true purport of some subsequent transactions.

We have seen the princes and petty chieftains of Ireland submitting to king Henry with a readiness the less surprising, when we consider that to them it was not unusual to be visited by a superior potentate, who demanded a recognition of his sovereignty, obliged them to become his tributaries, and to give hostages for their fidelity, and even sometimes to resign a portion of their territory. So that Henry demanded no more than they had frequently granted to others with great readiness, and generally with little sincerity, scarcely considering the concession as dishonourable, much less an essential diminution of their local power and authority. Nor is there any authentic evidence to prove, with whatever confidence it may have been asserted, that "the Irish made no terms, for their own form of government, but wholly abolishing their own, they consented to receive the English laws, and submitted entirely to the English government*." It is scarcely conceivable that a whole people should at once be either forced or persuaded into so extraordinary a revolution, unless they, of all the human race, rude and barbarous as they are represented, were alone exempted from strong partialities in favour of their laws and customs. Nor is it probable that a politic and sagacious prince should form a scheme in his present situation, so extravagant, because of all others the most dangerous to attempt, and the most difficult to effect, that of obtruding in a moment an entire new system of laws and polity upon a number of communities, none of which he had subdued. But that no such design was either attempted or effected will appear, not only from the manifold proofs which must necessarily be produced in the progress of this history, but from the transactions already related. We have observed that by an ordinance of the synod of Cashel it was provided, that the clergy should for the future be free from all secular exactions. Here it is necessary to produce this ordinance at large.

* Carey.

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“ All the ecclesiastical lands and possessions shall be entirely free from every exaction of secular men. And especially no petty kings, or any potentates of Ireland, nor their children or families, shall for the future exact maintenance or entertainments, according to custom, in the ecclesiastical territories, or presume to extort them by violence. And that detestable entertainment, which is four times a year required by neighbouring lords, shall not for the future be demanded from the ecclesiastical towns. And moreover, in all cases of homicide committed by the laity, as often as they shall compound for the same with their adversaries, the clergy who are their relations shall pay nothing on this account; but as they had no part in the perpetration of the homicide, so shall they be free from contributing to the fine.”

It cannot be supposed that the execution of the Irish laws should be thus regulated, if these laws were entirely abolished. If the clergy were to be exempted from Coyne, Coshering, and other like exactions, it is evident that the petty kings and lords were still to demand them from others. If the clergy were not to contribute to the Eric in cases of murder, it follows that this compensation was still to be paid by the laity; and by consequence that the old Irish polity was not only to subsist, but warranted, secured, and regulated, in an assembly convened by the authority of Henry. Here then, were there no other, we have a direct proof of a regular compact between this monarch and the Irish chieftains. They stipulated to become his vassals and tributaries. He was to protect them in the administration of their petty governments according to their own model: and thus we shall find that their governments were actually administered.—“ They governed their people,” says a judicious writer*, “ by the Brekon law; they made their own magistrates and officers; they pardoned and punished all malefactors within their several countries; they made war and peace one with another without controulment; and this they did not only during the reign of Henry II. but afterwards in all times, even until the reign of queen Elizabeth.”—Not originally by the connivance of their new sovereign, nor in opposition to his authority, but by his sanction and allowance, as appears from the acts of an assembly which derived their authority from his ratification.

It is in the next place observable, that the concessions of the Irish lords were uniformly made to Henry and his heirs. And as England was now confessedly the first and capital

* Sir John Davies.

member of his dominions, by his heirs we must understand his lawful successors to the crown of England. So that the intention of his treaties with the Irish chieftains appears to be, that the kings of England should for ever become lords paramount of the territories which these chieftains retained, and inheritors of those which they absolutely resigned: not that Henry should be warranted to grant or transfer his Irish dominions; or to set his Irish vassals as villains of the soil, but that the stipulated obedience should be paid to the kings of England in lawful succession; and the territories resigned should remain for ever annexed to this kingdom, and appendant on this dignity. Or, to express it in the language of the patent of Henry III. to his son Edward*, that they should not be separated from the crown but wholly remain to the kings of England for ever.

By his transactions both with the natives and the original adventurers, Henry had now acquired the absolute dominion of several maritime cities, and their dependencies. The province of Leinster was claimed by Strongbow, as the heir of king Dermot, and he consented to hold it of the king and his heirs. The acquisitions in Meath appear also to have been ceded to the king; nor did the English acknowledge any rightful sovereign of this district since the death of Mac Laghlin; so that Henry had now a considerable territory, and a number of subjects in the island, and had the utmost reason to expect a speedy increase of both. And to these his subjects, he indeed granted the English laws, according to the testimony of Matthew Paris, not as a model whereby they might govern themselves, and frame their own polity; for then they had no need to express their gratitude to the king for what they might have adopted themselves, if, by their change of situation, they had lost the privileges of English subjects: neither in this case was there any propriety or necessity for an oath to the king, whereby they were bound to the observance of these laws. On the contrary, it was declared by this transaction, by their grateful acceptance of the English laws, and their solemn engagements to obey them, that, as they resigned their Irish acquisitions, and renewed their allegiance to the king, he, on his part, consented that they should still be considered as the subjects of his realm, and still retain the advantages of that constitution which, as subjects, they formerly enjoyed, and which he graciously declared that they should still retain in the same capacity, without any diminution of their rights, or any change in their relation to the king. Hence the necessity of a new oath,

* Rymer.

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whereby they were bound in due allegiance to Henry and his heirs, and to the faithful observance of the laws of his realm in their new settlements, thus made a part and member of this realm, inseparably connected, and intimately consolidated with it.

Let it be sufficient to state these points briefly for the present, which, as they frequently recur, must be repeated and enforced in the progress of this history. And agreeably to the representations now made, it appears, that soon after he had taken possession of Dublin, and before his departure from this city, Henry granted it by charter to the inhabitants of Bristol, to be held of him and his heirs with the same liberties and free customs which they enjoyed at Bristol, and throughout all his land. And by another charter executed soon after, he confirms to his burgesses of Dublin all manner of rights and immunities throughout his whole land of England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland, wherever they and their effects shall be, to be fully and honourably enjoyed by them as his free and faithful subjects. And as it was not easy to induce his English subjects immediately to settle in those maritime towns, he permitted the Ostmen to take possession of Waterford, to whom he granted a particular charter of denization, whereby they were invested with the rights and privileges of free subjects, and for the future to be governed by the laws of this realm; which, by the way, affords a convincing proof that the benefit of these laws was considered as a special grace, and that they were by no means granted in general to those who submitted, much less obtruded on any, as the great mark of conquest.

For the better execution of the laws of England, it appears that Henry made a division of the districts, now subject to him, into shires or counties, which was afterwards improved and enlarged, as the extension of the English settlements, and the circumstances of the country required. Sheriffs were consequently appointed both for the counties and cities, with judges itinerant, and other ministers of justice, officers of state, and every appendage of English government, and English law. And these institutions seem to have been a part of Henry's first compact with the adventurers, and to have immediately attended his grant of their old polity and privileges; for in the first charter to the citizens of Dublin, executed before his departure from this city, we find mention of his justices, sheriffs, and other officers. To complete the whole system, a chief governor, or representative of the king, was necessarily appointed, who was to exercise the royal authority, or such parts of it as might be committed to him, in the king's absence; and as the present state of Ireland,

land, and the apprehensions of war or insurrection made it peculiarly necessary to guard against sudden accidents, or extraordinary contingencies, it was provided, by what is called a statute of Henry Fitz-Empress, that in case of the death of any chief governor, the chancellor, treasurer, chief justices, and chief baron, keeper of the rolls, and king's serjeant at law, should be empowered, with consent of the nobles of the land, to elect a successor, who was to exercise the full power and authority of this office, until the royal pleasure should be further known. Henry had now the more leisure to project such schemes of government, as a remarkably severe and tempestuous winter prevented him from any attempts to reduce those parts of Ireland, which had not yet acknowledged his authority.

The continual storms having put a stop to all navigation, the king had not for a considerable time received the least intelligence from England or Normandy, till, at length, on his arrival at Wexford, after a residence of three months in Dublin, he met couriers, who brought the most alarming advices, that two cardinals, Albert and Theodine, delegated by the pope, had arrived in Normandy the year before, to make inquisition into the death of Becket; that waiting the arrival of Henry, until their patience was exhausted, they now summoned him to appear without delay, as he would avert the dreadful sentence of excommunication, and preserve his dominions from a general interdict. Such denunciations were of too much consequence to admit a longer residence in Ireland. He ordered his forces, and the officers of his household, to embark without delay, reserving three ships for the conveyance of himself and his immediate attendants.

He was now to leave a country which, from his first appearance, afforded him the fairest prospect of success; but of which, a very considerable part, including all the western and the northern quarters of the island, he had not yet visited much less reduced. He had built no number of forts to secure the acquisitions already made, or to awe the turbulent and fickle inhabitants; and he was to leave earl Richard behind, a powerful subject, to strengthen and increase his influence in a country where it was already formidable, whose concessions were supposed not to have been the effects of duty and attachment, and who waited but for the absence of his royal master (as the jealousies of Henry suggested) to improve the advantages he had acquired, and to assume an independent sovereignty. In this perplexing situation, he had but a few days to make the necessary dispositions for the security of his Irish interests. He addressed himself to the original English adventurers, and by grants and promises

laboured to detach them from Strongbow, and bind them firmly to himself, and to his service. To make amends for what he had taken from Fitz-Stephen, he granted him a considerable district in the neighbourhood of Dublin, to be held by knight's-service, at the same time entrusting the maritime towns, with especial caution, to his own immediate dependents. Waterford was committed to Humphrey de Bohun, Robert Fitz-Bernard, and Hugh de Gundville, with a train of twenty knights. In Wexford were stationed William Fitz-Andelm, Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Braosa, with a like number of attendants. Before his departure from Dublin he had promised, and now executed, an important grant to Hugh de Lacy of all the territory of Meath, where there was no fortified place, and where by consequence no particular reservation was necessary, to be held of him and his heirs, by the service of fifty knights, in as full a manner as it had been enjoyed by Murchard Hu Melaghlin, or any other. He also constituted this lord his governor of Dublin, with a guard of twenty knights. Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, were made his coadjutors, with an equal train; and these, with others of the first adventurers, under the pretence of an honourable appointment, were thus obliged to reside at Dublin, subject to the immediate inspection of de Lacy, in whom Henry seems to have placed his chief confidence. In the neighbourhood of each city, lands were assigned for the maintenance of the knights and soldiers. A castle was directed to be built in Dublin, and fortresses in other convenient places; and sensible of the advantages to be gained by the valour and activity of private adventurers, the king readily yielded to the request of John de Courcy, a baron distinguished by his enterprising genius and abilities in war, and granted him the entire province of Ulster, provided he could reduce it by force of arms.

Having thus made his dispositions in Ireland as effectually as the short space of three weeks could permit, Henry turned his attention to more pressing, and at present more important objects. In granting large tracts to the most enterprising of his nobles, he pursued the same measures which William the Conqueror had taken for extending his territories on the marches of England. It was a method evidently well calculated for making conquests without expence to the crown, not for preserving peace in a country once subdued, or quieting the jealousies of an absent prince, who had learned suspicion from his experience of mankind. The misfortunes, which Ireland felt for ages, may be fairly imputed to the present fatal interruption of Henry's progress. The folly
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and the insolence, the injustice, baseness, and ingratitude of his avowed and secret enemies recalled him from an engagement worthy of his abilities. He embarked at Wexford on the feast of Easter, and landed in Pembrokehire, where it was the first care of this prince, who lay under the heavy displeasure of the church, to march on foot to the cathedral of saint David, and there perform his devotions, with an ostentation of piety and humility. Hence he passed on with the utmost speed, and with his eldest son, whose secret practices against an indulgent father he had but too good reasons to suspect, proceeded to meet the cardinals in Normandy. Their first requisitions were so haughty and exorbitant, that Henry broke up the assembly, declaring that he would return to Ireland, where he had much to do, and leave them to execute their legantine commission as they might. This spirited answer produced another congress, and another treaty, upon terms less unreasonable and injurious. And when the articles of accommodation were adjusted, the king's submissions accepted, and his absolutions pronounced, pope Alexander readily consented to seal this reconciliation, by confirming the grant of Ireland made by Adrian. His brief recites the propriety of allowing the just acts of his predecessors, and the gifts made by the late pope to Henry, of the dominion of Ireland: ratifying the same with the reservation of Peterpence, and on the former condition of reforming the barbarous natives, and regulating their disordered church.

Having settled a civil administration at Dublin, as nearly as possible to that of his own A. D. 1173. kingdom, Henry returned to England. Thus the conquest of Ireland was effected by the English, almost with as much ease as that of Mexico was by the Spaniards; and for much the same reasons, the rude and unarmed state of the natives, and the differences that prevailed among the princes or leaders *. From this period Dublin began to flourish.

* Lord Lyttelton.

C H A P. X.

*Spirit of the Irish Chieftains—Rebellion of Henry's Sons—
Strongbow Chief Governor—Insurrection and Massacre at
Waterford—Limerick besieged by O'Brien—Death and
Character of Strongbow—Divisions of the Chieftains.*

HENRY at his departure, left not one true subject behind him, more than he found on coming over. The Irish chieftains who had submitted to become his vassals with so much levity and indifference, were little solicitous to adhere to their submissions any longer than terror or necessity might oblige them *. But as the impression made by the power and greatness of their new sovereign was yet lively and forcible; as their local feuds and jealousies had never been suspended; and as the English settlers had not as yet discovered any design of extending their acquisitions, the territories of the new adventurers were for awhile unmolested, and seemed to wear an appearance of security and peace.

In the mean time Eleanor, Henry's queen, provoked at the infidelities of her husband, interested her sons Richard and Geoffry in her resentments, engaged them to fly secretly to the court of France, and was herself meditating an escape to the same court, when she was arrested by Henry's order in her disguise of man's apparel, and confined. The combination of these princes against an indulgent father had been projected, and was openly countenanced by Louis. Princes were not ashamed to espouse their unnatural quarrel. Barons, disgusted by a vigilant government, were more desirous of being ruled by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiss in their conduct, and profuse in their grants; and, as the king had ensured to his sons the succession to every particular province in his dominions, the nobles had no dread of adhering to those who, they knew, must some time become their sovereigns. Prompted by these motives, many of the Norman nobility had deserted to his son Henry. The Breton and Gascon barons embraced the quarrel of Richard and Geoffry. The disaffection had spread through England. The earls of Leinster and Chester, in particular, declared openly against the king. The counts of Flanders, Bologne, Blois, and Eu, were prompted by jealousy of Henry's greatness, and the hopes of advantage from the inconsiderate promises and grants of an ambitious youth, to unite with the

* Sir John Davies.

king of France. William, king of Scotland, also joined in the confederacy; so that Henry now saw the storm of war and rebellion rising in every quarter of his extensive dominions. Although the pope had been prevailed on to denounce his censure against the rebellious princes and their adherents, yet Henry soon found that his effectual resource must be in his own activity and valour. He employed those treasures he had prudently reserved, in hiring twenty thousand of those mercenary troops called Brabancons, whose profession it was to fight for any prince who would engage them. At the same time he found it necessary to withdraw several of his garrisons from Ireland, as well as to claim the attendance of some of his barons and commanders in this country. Earl Richard flew to his assistance in Normandy with such alacrity and zeal, that Henry, convinced of his attachment, entrusted him with the government of Gisors.

The first accounts of a powerful confederacy, formed against the king of England, were received by the Irish chieftains with the utmost joy; and no sooner had earl Richard and the other English lords departed, than they openly disavowed their late submissions, and boldly denounced the vengeance of an injured people against the remains of their invaders. The English army was not only weakened, but mutinous and discontented. It had been entrusted to the command of Hervey of Mountmorres, to whom Raymond le Gros was second in authority; and these leaders were by no means united with that firmness and cordiality which their common interest required. Hervey was proud, impatient of a rival, and jealous of his influence; rigid and severe in his discipline, he restrained the soldiers from plundering, a liberty which they claimed as in some sort necessary to supply the deficiencies of their pay: Raymond, of more conciliating manners, more indulgent to the passions and necessities of the soldiery, for whose welfare and security he appeared eminently solicitous; gentle to their faults, and affecting rather to appear their companion than their commander; neither delicate in his fare, nor curious in his apparel, cheerfully sharing all the hardships of a military life. He was consequently more beloved; and the envy of Mountmorres was inflamed by his popularity. Their mutual jealousies prevented any effectual opposition to the spirit now raised among the Irish princes, and might have proved fatal to the English interest, had not Henry been so enabled to provide a remedy for the evil. He summoned earl Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, and communicated his intentions of committing the affairs of Ireland to his sole direction. The earl expressed the utmost alacrity to serve his royal master; but observ-

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ed, that he had already experienced the envy and malignity of his secret enemies, that, if he should appear in so distinguished a character as that of the king's deputy in Ireland, their insidious practices would be renewed, and his conduct misrepresented and calumniated. He therefore requested that a colleague might be appointed in the commission, and recommended Raymond as a person of approved loyalty and abilities, as well as highly acceptable to the soldiery. Henry replied, with an appearance of regard and confidence, extorted from him by his present circumstances, that he had his free consent to employ Raymond in any service he should deem necessary, not as a colleague, but an assistant; that he relied entirely on the earl, and implicitly entrusted every thing to his direction. To reward his services, and enliven his zeal, he granted him the town of Wexford, together with a fort erected at Wicklow, and thus dismissed him with the most gracious expressions of favour.

The earl landed at Dublin, where he was received with the respect due to the royal commission. He signified the king's pleasure that Robert Fitz-Bernard, with the garrison of Waterford, should instantly embark, and repair to Normandy; and that Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice de Prendergast, should attend the service of their liege lord in England; and agreeably to the king's instructions took on him the custody of Dublin and Waterford, as well as of his own city of Wexford. Hugh de Lacy, and Milo de Cogan, were, with the other lords, commanded to repair to England for the service of the king; and while the forces, who were to support the government of earl Strongbow, were thus considerably weakened, their discontents were at the same time enflamed to the utmost, and he had the mortification to hear the boldest remonstrances against the conduct of his uncle Mountmorres. The soldiers presented themselves in a body before the earl, requiring that Raymond le Gros should be appointed to command them; if not, they threatened to return to their native country, or to engage in the service of the Irish chiefs, who were now in arms, and ready for hostilities. Strongbow was too sensible of the difficulties of his present situation not to comply with these demands, however insolent, and not only to grant their favourite general, but also to engage them in some expeditions which might afford plunder, as he had improvidently dissipated the sums assigned for their pay. Raymond was
A. D. 1174. therefore appointed to march into O'fally to chastise the defection of some petty lords of this district. He over-ran, and ravaged the country without resistance, and, proceeding with his booty to Lismore, committed

mitted the like depredations in this city and the adjacent lands. On his return by the sea-side, he found some vessels at anchor, which he directed to be laden with the spoil, in order to convey it to the town of Waterford. The wind was for some time contrary, which encouraged the men of Cork, who had been acquainted with these transactions, to form the design of destroying this little fleet of transports. The necessities of Henry having obliged him to withdraw the English garrison from the city, it had been resumed by Macarthy of Desmond; and now the inhabitants, to manifest their zeal against his enemies, hastily fitted out thirty barks, and fell with the utmost fury on the English detachment, which had not yet weighed anchor. Their assault, however sudden and unexpected, was sustained with due spirit; and the death of their commander, who fell by the arm of a gallant Welshman, soon decided the contest in favour of the English. They took eight vessels from the enemy, and sailed in triumph to the place of destination. Raymond had been informed of this action, and was hastening to the support of his party with a select body of twenty knights and sixty horsemen, when he suddenly found himself encountered by the prince of Desmond, who on his part was equally solicitous to support his vassals of Cork. The Irish chief, however, was soon obliged to retire; and Raymond, after some inconsiderable attempts to disturb him in his march, and to seize his prey, entered Waterford in all the pomp of a victorious general.

Trivial as these actions were, they confirmed the opinion which the soldiery had conceived of their new general, served to supply their present necessities, and seemed the prelude to more important successes. Raymond himself appears to have entertained no indifferent opinion of his own services. He was now in the very height of popularity, and determined to avail himself of this advantage. He had conceived a passion for Basilia, sister to earl Richard, and took the present occasion to demand her in marriage, together with the post of constable, and standard-bearer of Leinster, during the minority of a daughter of Robert de Quiny, the late son-in-law of Strongbow. The earl, probably from a jealousy of the rising power and influence of this lord, received his overture with a coldness and reserve which sufficiently expressed his disapprobation. Raymond provoked and mortified, retired abruptly into Wales, under pretence of taking possession of some lands devolved to him by the death of his father, and the army was once again entrusted to the command of Hervey of Mountmorres.

Hervey was but too sensible how much his own character had

had been obscured by the superior lustre of his rival, and now determined to engage in some brave enterprize, which might regain him the affections of the soldiery, and emulate the successes of le Gros. He represented to earl Strongbow the necessity of speedily repressing that spirit of revolt and insurrection which had appeared among the Irish; and as the dispositions lately made in Meath seemed to have established an effectual barrier against the king of Connaught, he advised him to bend his whole force against the insurgents of Munster, and by chastising their revolt, and reducing them to due obedience, to strike terror into those who were equally disaffected, but had not yet dared to commence hostilities. The earl, whose genius was better fitted to adopt and execute, than to form a plan of operations, readily yielded to those instances, and, in conjunction with Mountmorres, led a considerable body of forces to the city of Cashel. When their troops had been here reviewed, and information received of the posture and numbers of the enemy, Hervey prevailed upon him, in order to give their armament a more brilliant and formidable appearance, to dispatch his orders to Dublin, that a considerable party of the garrison, consisting of Ostmen, who had engaged in the service of the English, should, without delay, join their main body. As this detachment advanced, the fame of its motions spread through the country, and was conveyed into the quarters of the enemies. O'Brien of Thomond, a valiant and sagacious chieftain, and implacably averse to the English interests, conceived the design of cutting off this body, as the most effectual means of weakening and dispiriting the enemy. He suffered the Ostmen to advance as far as to Thurles, and there to encamp in a state of careless security, when falling suddenly upon them, he wreaked his fury upon men utterly unprepared for defence. Four hundred of the detachment, together with their four principal commanders, were slaughtered upon the field; and, to complete the triumph of O'Brien, earl Richard, on receiving the intelligence of this misfortune, retired with all the precipitation of a routed general, and threw himself for safety into Waterford.

This disgrace of the English arms, which was magnified by fame into a decisive victory obtained over Strongbow and his united powers, served as a signal to the disaffected Irish to rise up in arms. Several of the Leinster chieftains, who had lately made their submissions, and bound themselves to the service of king Henry, openly disclaimed all their engagements. Even Donald Kevanagh, son of the late king Dermot, who had hitherto adhered to the English even in their utmost difficulties, now declared against them, and asserted

serted a title to the kingdom of Leinster; while Roderic, on his part, was active in uniting the princes of Ulster, the native lords of Meath, and other chiefs, against their common enemy.

Strongbow was well acquainted with the fickleness of the Irish; and justly sensible of the consequences of being reduced to act on the defensive, instead of seeking his enemies in their own territories. He had also reason to apprehend a revival of discontent and mutiny amongst his own soldiers. He, therefore, without the least hesitation or delay, sent into Wales, earnestly entreating Raymond to return with such forces as he could procure, and freely offering to gratify him in all his late demands. Nothing could be more flattering to Raymond than this application. He was called to relieve his countrymen from the distress in which they had been involved by his rival: he was acknowledged to be their great resource in all alarming circumstances; and the earl, who had proudly refused to grant him his sister in marriage, was now reduced to court him to accept her hand. He made his preparations with all the speed and alacrity of a man prompted by the powerful motives of love, pride, and ambition; and collecting thirty leaders of his own kindred, one hundred horsemen, and three hundred archers, all hardy and well-appointed Welshmen, embarked in twenty transports, and steered his course to Waterford.

If we may believe Giraldus, nothing could have been more critically seasonable than his arrival. The townsmen, naturally averse to the English invaders, provoked by their rigorous oppressions, and encouraged by their present weakness and apparent distress, are said to have formed the desperate purpose of freeing themselves from their masters by a general massacre; but, at the very moment of execution, Raymond's fleet appeared in the harbour, and suspended the attempt. Whether they were either bold enough, or strong enough to have really formed such a scheme against a considerable, and to them a formidable army, certain it is that they entertained a malignant aversion against the English, and waited but a fair occasion to discover it, as was soon experienced. At the first interview between Raymond and earl Richard, it was agreed to march without delay to Wexford, probably to give some check to the spirit of rebellion, which had appeared in Leinster. The garrison left at Waterford, little suspecting any violence or treachery within the walls, acted with the confidence of men surrounded with their friends and adherents, and thus favoured the designs of their secret enemies. Their commander, crossing the Sure in a small bark, was, with his few attendants, murdered by the

the mariners; and no sooner had the news of this massacre reached the town, than all the English, who could be found unarmed, were suddenly assailed, and slaughtered without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Those of the garrison, who had opportunity to take arms, joined their associates in the citadel, called Reginald's Tower, and there not only defended themselves, but annoyed their besiegers with such spirit and address, as at length drove them from the city, and reduced them to sue for peace with the most abject submission. They glossed over their late barbarity by such pretences as they could invent, and gladly complied with the most rigorous terms of accommodation that could be proposed.

Wexford, in the mean time, was a scene of joy and festivity. Basilina, sister of earl Strongbow, had arrived thither with a magnificent train from Dublin, and was solemnly espoused by Raymond, who received a large portion of lands as her dowry, and was invested with the office of constable, and standard-bearer of Leinster. But; even in the midst of the nuptial rites, intelligence arrived, that Roderic, at the head of a large confederate army, had suddenly passed the Shannon, entered the territory of Meath, where Hugh Tyrrel commanded in the absence of Lacy, expelled the English colonists, laid their settlements waste, obliged Tyrrel to abandon the forts lately erected, and burned them to the ground; so that the fury of his incursion had been felt even to the walls of Dublin. The occasion was too pressing to admit of the least delay; so that the very morning after the celebration of his nuptials, the bridegroom was obliged to put on his armour. He led his troops to Dublin, determined to seek these invaders; but the Irish chieftains, actuated by sudden and transient impressions of passion, rather than any reasonable and settled principle of duty or public spirit, were contented with the devastation committed in Meath, and by no means inclined to continue their hostilities. Roderic, the leader of this undetermined, ungoverned, and ill-united body, found himself obliged to retreat into his own province, and leave the enemy to repair the havoc he had made. The earl and Raymond arrived time enough to precipitate the flight of some of the Irish parties, by falling on their rear, and killing one hundred and fifty. The settlements in Meath were re-established; and Tyrrel had the charge of rebuilding those forts which the Irish had destroyed.

This success, together with the death of Donald Kevanagh, who had been killed in an engagement with a party of his countrymen in the English service, awed the spirit of disaffection in Leinster, and established an appearance of order
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and tranquillity through the English territories, so as to leave earl Richard at leisure to attend to the affairs of Munster, and to take measures for reducing the prince of Thomond, who possessed himself of Limerick, and continued to bid defiance to the English power. The siege of Limerick was undertaken by Raymond, who, with a chosen body of about six hundred, marched against the resolved chieftain. They arrived without opposition at the banks of the Shannon, which surrounds this city; but here found the bridges broken, and their further approaches stopped by the rapidity of the stream. Two of their boldest knights ventured to pass where they conceived the river to be fordable, and with success; but, returning to encourage and conduct their associates, one of them was drowned. A third passed safely, but found himself unsupported, and exposed to the enemy; till Raymond, advancing from the rear, spurred boldly through the river; and his forces, thus encouraged, followed their leader without further hesitation, and gained the opposite bank, with the loss of two only of their body. The enemy, who were pouring down to oppose their passage, stopped with astonishment at this intrepidity, and fled at once without striking a blow. They were pursued by the English with considerable slaughter, who thus became masters of the city without resistance. The soldiers were enriched by plunder, and the reputation of their favourite general was increased by this bold and successful adventure.

In the mean time, Roderic, convinced by repeated experience of the instability and perfidy of his subordinate chieftains, and the ineffectual nature of a vassal army, despaired of contending any longer, and determined to save his own province at least from the depredations of an incensed and victorious enemy, by a submission. Yet, not unconscious of his dignity, he declined all application to earl Strongbow, and determined to treat immediately with the king of England. This monarch had, by the most extraordinary exertion of vigour and abilities, happily eluded all the attempts of his enemies on the continent. His English rebels were subdued, his sons had submitted, the king of Scots had been defeated, was taken prisoner, and obliged to purchase his liberty at the expence of the ancient independence of his crown; and Henry, now seated peaceably in England, was forming schemes of legislation for improving and perpetuating the welfare of his kingdom, when he was attended at Windsor by three deputies of Roderic, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, the abbot of saint Brandan, and master Lawrence, and he is styled, chancellor to the king of Connaught.

The terms of accommodation are still extant, and shew what

what were Henry's ideas of a conquest, and what kind of dominion he esteemed sufficient to denominate him lord of Ireland.

Roderic, on his part, consented to do homage, and pay tribute, as liege-man, to the king of England; on which conditions he was allowed to hold the kingdom of Connaught, as well as his other lordships and sovereignties in as ample a manner as he had enjoyed them before the arrival of Henry in Ireland. His vassals were to hold under him in peace, as long as they paid their tribute, and continued faithful to the king of England; in which Roderic was to enforce their due obedience, and for this purpose to call to his assistance the English government, if necessary. The annual tribute to be paid was every tenth mercantable hide, as well from Connaught as the rest of the island, excepting those parts under the immediate dominion of the king of England and his barons, Dublin with its appurtenances, Meath with all its appurtenances, Wexford and all Leinster, and Waterford with its lands, as far as to Dungarvan inclusive; in all which districts, Roderic was not to interfere, nor claim any power or authority. The Irish, who had fled from thence, were to return, and either to pay their tribute, or to perform the services required by their tenures, at the option of their immediate lords; and if refractory, Roderic, at the requisition of their lords, was to compel them to return. He was to take hostages from his vassals, such as he and his liege lord should think proper; and on his part to deliver either these or others to his lord, as Henry should appoint. His vassals were to furnish hawks and hounds annually to the English monarch, and were not to detain any tenant of his immediate demesnes in Ireland, contrary to his royal pleasure and command.

This treaty was solemnly ratified in a grand council of prelates and temporal barons, among whom we find the archbishop of Dublin one of the subscribing witnesses. As metropolitan of Leinster, he was now become an English subject, and was probably summoned upon this occasion as one obliged to attend, and who had a right to assist in the king's great council. It is also observable that Henry now treated with Roderic not merely as a provincial prince, but as monarch of Ireland. This is evidently implied and supposed in the articles; although his monarchical powers and privileges were little more than nominal, frequently disregarded, and opposed by the Irish toparchs. Even by their submissions to Henry many of them renounced and disavowed the sovereignty of Roderic, in effect. But now his supremacy seems to be industriously acknowledged, that the present submission might appear virtually the submission of all the subordinate princes,

so as to invest Henry with the complete sovereignty of the whole island. But the marks of this sovereignty were no more than homage and tribute; in every other particular the regal rights of Roderic are left inviolate. The English laws and government (as hath been already observed) were evidently to be enforced only in the English pale; and even within this district the Irish tenant might live in peace, as the subject of the Irish monarch, bound only to pay his quota of tribute, and not to take arms against the king of England.

This submission of Roderic, and his solemn recognition of Henry's sovereignty, promised additional strength to the English interest in Ireland. But the jealousy and suspicions which the king was ever ready to conceive of his barons in this kingdom, once more threatened to embarrass and distress them. Hervey of Mountmorres, by marrying the daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and cousin-german of Raymond, seemed to have formed a stricter and more friendly connection with this lord. A daughter of Strongbow was also given in marriage to a youth of the house of Fitz-Gerald. Maurice himself had lately returned from Wales, and was indulged with a grant of Wicklow-castle, added to a district which Henry had already given him in O'fally. Other leaders of reputation were rewarded by valuable possessions; so that the English lords seemed to be united more firmly than ever, and all nearly interested in extending and securing their settlements. But Giraldus assures us that the envy and discontent of Hervey still rankled in his breast; that he studiously sought an alliance with the daughter of Fitz-Gerald, to insinuate himself into the confidence of Raymond, and watch the motions and designs of his old rival. Whether he had really observed any thing alarming in his conduct, or whether malice and jealousy had invented matters of complaint against him, his emissaries were secretly dispatched to Henry, by whom he made the most unfavourable representations of Raymond's conduct. They assured the king, that this lord evidently aspired to an independent sovereignty in Ireland; that for this purpose he had practised all the arts of factious popularity with too great success, and was no longer solicitous to conceal his disloyal schemes; that he had secured Limerick to himself, and in this and other cities had stationed garrisons devoted to his service, and sworn secretly to support his designs; that the infection had spread through the whole army, which waited but the command of Raymond to engage in any enterprize, however repugnant to the interest and authority of their prince. Such representations, urged with a plausible appearance, and fair profession of loyalty, by a baron of distinguished character and particular credit with the king,

and countenanced by the late tumultuous declarations of the army in favour of Raymond, made the intended impression upon a prince who had ever dreaded this consequence from the increasing power and success of the adventurers in Ireland. Four commissioners were immediately dispatched to Dublin; Robert de Poer, Osbert of Hereford, William Bendeget, and Adam of Gerneny, two of whom were to conduct Raymond to the king, and two to remain in order to inspect the affairs of the kingdom, to watch the conduct of Strongbow, and to learn the dispositions of the other lords.

The commissioners were received with due respect. Raymond, who saw the machinations of his secret enemy, declared his readiness to obey the pleasure of his liege-lord, and prepared for his departure; but was for some time detained by contrary winds. In this interval, intelligence arrives that O'Brien of Thomond, the vigorous and formidable enemy of the English power, had laid siege to Limerick; that the garrison stationed there under the command of Meyler of St. David's had exhausted their provisions, were cut off from all further supplies, and must inevitably perish either by famine, or the sword of an implacable enemy, if not immediately relieved. This intelligence was the more distressing to earl Strongbow, as he himself laboured under great bodily infirmity, and was to be deprived of a commander on whom he had the greatest reliance in this critical emergency. He, however, mustered his forces, and prepared for the relief of Limerick with all the alacrity in his power, when the soldiers once more clamoured for Raymond, insolently refusing to march against O'Brien, unless their favourite general were to command. The king's commissioners were consulted, and readily agreed that they should delay their departure, and that Raymond should undertake the conduct of this expedition. The utmost reluctance was affected on his part; he was solicited and entreated both by the earl and the commissioners; and at length yielded, with conscious triumph over his malignant enemy.

His forces were composed of fourscore knights, two hundred cavalry, and three hundred archers, together with the Irish troops of Kenselagh and Ossory, whose chieftains united with the English on this occasion, from a violent personal hatred and jealousy of O'Brien. As he advanced to Munster, he was informed that the prince of Thomond had abandoned the siege of Limerick, and leading his forces to Cashel, had strongly entrenched himself in a defile, through which the English were to pass, and there waited their approach. He was soon witness of the situation of the enemy, and saw himself opposed by no inconsiderable army, posted to advantage

tage behind their works. He disposed his troops, and prepared for the assault. His Irish forces were struck with the appearance of the enemy, and began to suspect the resolution of their allies, who marched to action, not with the violence and tumult to which they had been accustomed, but with the calmness of experienced and determined valour. The prince of Offory thought it incumbent on him to remonstrate with the English, and to shew them the necessity of exerting themselves. He bluntly told them that they must conquer or be destroyed; for that they were far from refuge or support; and should they presume to give way, he and his countrymen would instantly join the enemy. The only answer to this insolence was a bold and vigorous onset, which, though received with becoming spirit, was finally successful; the men of Thomond were driven from their entrenchments with considerable slaughter; and in their flight spread the utmost terror and dismay through the Irish of Munster. O'Brien, wearied out by an unsuccessful contest, determined to make his peace, and to this end proposed an interview with the English general. At the same time Roderic, in pursuance of his late treaty, repaired to Raymond, to deliver his hostages, and take the oaths of fealty; so that in one day this lord had the honour of receiving the submissions of the king of Connaught, and of the prince of Thomond, who renewed his engagements to the king of England and his heirs, and gave hostages as a security for his future allegiance.

An unnatural quarrel in the family of Mac Arthy, prince of Desmond, not unusual among the Irish chieftains, afforded Raymond a fair occasion of continuing his progress in Munster, and added to the honour he had already acquired. Cormac, eldest son of this prince, had risen in rebellion against his father, deprived him of his territory, and imprisoned him. Mac Arthy, who had sworn allegiance to the king of England, represented his wrongs to Raymond, and required his protection, promising considerable advantages to his general and his associates, if, by their assistance, he should be restored to his dominions. The English knights, ever ready to engage in any enterprize which promised to enrich them, earnestly pressed their leader to march without delay to the assistance of this injured prince, and soon prevailed. They entered the territories of Desmond in an hostile manner, ravaging and plundering without mercy, till Cormac was compelled to stop their progress by submission. His father was re-instated in his territories; and to requite the baseness of his son, cast him into that prison from which he himself was rescued, and soon after put him to death. By this expedition Raymond not only supplied his forces and the garrison of Limerick with provisions, but obtained from Mac Arthy

a valuable grant of lands in that part of Desmond called Kerry, which he enjoyed unmolested, and transmitted to his posterity.

But now, in the midst of his success, he receives the alarming intelligence of the death of earl Strongbow, who expired in Dublin after a tedious indisposition, occasioned by a mortification in his foot. The fickleness of the Irish, their real abhorrence of their invaders, notwithstanding their pretended submissions, and their precipitation in revolting and taking arms on any extraordinary emergency, were but too well known, and made it necessary for the English government to keep this event concealed till their forces were collected from the distant quarters of the kingdom; and lest the secret should be discovered by any miscarriage of the letter which Basilia now sent to her husband, it was conceived in mysterious terms. She informed him, that her great tooth, which had acted so long, was at last fallen out, and therefore entreated him to return to Dublin with all imaginable speed.

Raymond, who perfectly understood the meaning of this enigmatical expression, and the importance of a cautious and judicious procedure on an occasion so critical, returned instantly to Limerick, and there held a secret consultation with a few select friends. It was readily agreed that the death of the chief governor, at a time when the next man in command was summoned into England, required an immediate attention to the peace and security of the English province; and that no troops could be spared from this first and necessary service. It had cost Raymond much pains and labour to gain the city of Limerick, and it was now peculiarly mortifying to find himself obliged to abandon this hardly acquired conquest. But the garrison could by no means be left behind. He therefore sent for Donald O'Brien; and with an affected ease and confidence acquainted him, that by his late submission he was become one of the king's barons, and entitled to the confidence of his liege lord; and therefore, as a mark of distinction due to his exalted rank, he entrusted him with the custody of Limerick, which might give him an occasion of approving his attachment, and meriting additional honours and rewards. The Irish chieftain received this proposal with a secret exultation, concealed under the appearance of the most profound humility, and dutiful allegiance. He was solemnly sworn, with the most horrid dissimulation, to take custody of Limerick for the king of England, and to restore it peaceably at the royal will and pleasure. Raymond and his troops proceeded to evacuate the town; but scarcely had they passed over one end of the bridge, when the other was broken down; and they had the mortification to behold the city,

city, which they had taken such pains to fortify; and supply with stores of every kind, set on fire in four different quarters by order of O'Brien, who declared that Limerick should no longer be the nest of foreigners. We are told that when this transaction was reported to king Henry, possibly in order to possess him with an unfavourable opinion of Raymond; this prince too generous and too wise to judge by the event observed, that the first gaining of Limerick was a noble exploit, the recovery of it still nobler; but that the only act of wisdom was the abandoning their conquest in this manner.

The obsequies of earl Strongbow, which had been deferred till the arrival of Raymond, were performed under the direction of this lord and archbishop Lawrence, with all due solemnity and magnificence. This nobleman was liberal and courteous in his manners; and what he could not gain by power, he frequently obtained by an insinuating address. In peace he was more disposed to obey than to govern. His state and authority were reserved for the camp, and there supported with the utmost dignity. He was diffident of his own judgment, cautious of proposing his own plans of operation; but in executing those of others, undaunted and vigorous. In battle, he was the standard on which his soldiers fixed their eyes; and by whose motions, they were determined either to advance or to retreat. His temper was composed and uniform; not dejected by misfortune, nor elated by success.

By the death of this earl, the English council at Dublin were to exercise an important power vested in them by Henry, that of electing a chief governor, till the king's pleasure should be known. Every circumstance determined them to confer this office upon Raymond, the favourite of the army, and the terror of the Irish enemies. The king's commissioners readily concurred in this choice, and embarked in full persuasion that they had provided most effectually for the interests of their royal master, by leaving them to the conduct and direction of this lord.

But the jealousies of Henry were by no means allayed by the most favourable representations which these commissioners could make of Raymond and his conduct. He therefore determined to entrust the government of Ireland to William Fitz-Andelm, a nobleman allied to him by blood, and of approved allegiance. He sent him into Ireland with a train of twenty knights; and at the same time John de Courcey, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, were appointed to attend the new governor, with a train of ten knights to each. With these embarked Vivian, the pope's legate, and Nicholas

Wallingford, an English ecclesiastic, with the brief of pope Alexander, lately granted to king Henry, in confirmation of his title to the dominion of Ireland. Fitz-Andelm and his attendants landed at Wexford, where Raymond was at hand to receive him with the reverence due to his commission. He resigned his state to the new governor, together with the towns, hostages, and other trusts which he held for the king by virtue of his temporary commission; and thus having assumed the reins of government, Fitz-Andelm began his administration by a stately progress along the coast, in order to inspect the forts and cities immediately vested in the king; while the ecclesiastics were on their part active in the service of their master. An assembly of the Irish clergy was convened at Waterford, in which the brief lately granted by Alexander, and the bull of Adrian, were solemnly promulged, and the king's title to the sovereign dominion of Ireland asserted and declared in form, with dreadful denunciations of the severest censures of the church, against all those who should impeach the grant made by the holy see, or resist the sovereign authority of Henry, thus constituted rightful lord of Ireland.

A. D. 1178. The ambition and turbulence of Murrough, son of Roderic O'Connor, involved his family and province in considerable disorder. In revenge of some supposed injury, or to favour some factious purpose, he seized the opportunity of his father's absence in a remote part of his territory, and invited Milo de Cogan to march into Connaught, with an assurance of great advantages from such an expedition. The invitation was readily obeyed; and Milo, full of hopes, instantly collected from Dublin, and the adjacent district, a body of forty knights, two hundred horse, and three hundred archers, and advanced without molestation to Roscommon. Here he was joined by Murrough, his new ally, who engaged to conduct him through the province. Some plausible pretext seems to have been alledged by Milo for this incursion; (possibly that of reducing some refractory lords, who refused to pay tribute to the English government) for he dispatched a messenger to Roderic notifying his arrival, and summoning him, upon his allegiance, to join the English forces. The summons, however, was neglected; and as it was well known that the English adventurers sought to enrich themselves by plunder, the inhabitants, on the first notice of their approach, drove away their cattle, secreted their valuable effects, and reduced the whole country to a desert.

The monkish annalists of Ireland make the most affecting complaints of the destruction of churches by the English in all

all their expeditions. They seem willing to represent them as a race of savage barbarians, who spared nothing sacred or venerable, and were even possessed with an heathenish aversion to all religious houses. But the truth is, that in Ireland, every part of which had been a scene of constant hostilities, it had long been a custom for the inhabitants to deposite provisions and effects of greater value, in the churches, where they lay secure, amidst all their domestic quarrels, as in a kind of sanctuary, which it was deemed the utmost impiety to violate. But the English had no such superstitious scruples; and their necessities were generally too pressing not to seek provisions wherever they might be found. The churches they considered as their sure resource; and opposition sometimes occasioned havock and devastation far beyond their intention. To remedy this inconvenience, Vivian, the legate, procured an ordinance in a synod held in Dublin, that the English, when engaged in any expedition, should have liberty to take provisions deposited in the churches, provided they paid their just value.

But, in the present incursion into Connaught, the Irish themselves, to deprive their invaders of this resource, burnt down their own churches, as their annals expressed it, *in spite to the foreigners*; who, in the vexation of disappointment, could only commit some useless ravages. Reduced to the utmost distress for subsistence in an enemy's country, left by Roderic to encounter all the consequences of their precipitation, and threatened with a formidable attack from the united forces of Connaught and Munster, they had no measure to pursue, but that of a mortifying and disgraceful retreat. In this they were obliged to sustain the repeated assaults of the Connacians; but at length regained their quarters at Dublin, though not without considerable loss, leaving their ally Murrough, to the resentment of his countrymen, who sentenced him, with the concurrence of his own father, to have his eyes put out for his practices with the English, and his encouragement of their invasion.

The imperfect and jejune accounts which remain of the local dissensions and provincial contests in Ireland, at this period, give a shocking idea of the state of this unhappy country. Desmond and Thomond in the southern province were distracted by the jealousies of contending chiefs, and the whole land wasted by unnatural and bloody quarrels. Treachery and murder were revenged by treachery and murder, so as to perpetuate a succession of outrages the most horrid and disgraceful to humanity. The northern province was a scene of like enormities, though the new English set-

tlers, who were considered as a common enemy, should have forced the natives to mutual union. A young prince of the Hi-Nial race, and heir-apparent to the rights of that family, fell be the hand of a rival lord; this rival was killed in revenge; the partisans on each side, as the several powers prevailed, were butchered with every circumstance of triumphant barbarity. In Connaught, the blinded son of Roderic was rescued from prison by his partisans, and the flames of dissention re-kindled. Nor were the Irish toparchs in Leinster more peaceable, or less barbarous in their contests. All were equally strangers to the nobler virtues of humanity. Nor was religion, in the form it then assumed, calculated or applied to restrain their violences, or to subdue their brutal passions. An effectual conquest, and general subjection of the whole island to one reasonable and equitable government, must have proved a singular blessing to these unhappy people. But Providence was pleased to ordain, that their enormities should continue much longer to prove their own severe punishment,

C H A P. XI.

Title of Lord of Ireland given to John—Origin of the Scottish invasion—Edward Bruce invited into Ireland by the Northern Chieftains—Landing of the Scots—Edward Bruce is crowned King of Ireland at Dundalk—He reduces Carrickfergus—Association of the English Lords—Battle of Athunree—The Capital threatened by Bruce—Preparations against him—Distresses of the Scots—Precipitation of Bruce, who is defeated and slain—Miserable Consequences of the Scottish War,

HENRY gave the title of lord of Ireland to his son John, who went over A. D. 1185 in person to that country; but John and his giddy Norman courtiers made a very ill use of their power, and rendered themselves hateful to the Irish; who were otherwise very well disposed towards the English. Richard I. was too much taken up with the crusades to pay any great regard to the affairs of Ireland; but king John, after his accession, made amends for his former behaviour towards the Irish, Gaveston,

Gaveston, the famous favourite of Edward II. acquired great credit while he acted as lieutenant of Ireland; but the successes of the Scotch king, Robert Bruce, had almost proved fatal to the English interest in Ireland, and suggested to the Irish the idea of transferring their allegiance from the kings of England to Edward Bruce, king Robert's brother*. Of this prince's invasion of Ireland, where he gave repeated defeats to the English governors and armies, whilst he was supported by his brother in person, I shall here give a brief account.

The dominion gained over Scotland by Edward I. the most distinguished acquisition of his illustrious reign, had been exercised by this austere prince with that severity, which hastened the revolt of a spirited and warlike people. Not yet broken by the ill success of *Wallace* and exasperated at the ignominious execution of this their renowned partisan, they were impatient to shake off the yoke of English government, and found a new and more fortunate leader in Robert Bruce, son to that Robert who had been competitor for the crown. The ardour of this young champion had just received the mortification of a single defeat; when the death of Edward, in that critical moment when Scotland was to be overwhelmed by a numerous army, converted his precipitate revolt into a judicious and well-directed effort for the deliverance of his country. He issued from the Western Isles, whither he had been driven by his misfortunes, and soon became a terror to his enemies. Edward II. pursued the method dictated by his indolence and weakness, and to stop his progress, entered into a treaty with the Scottish prince, which was transacted in Ireland by the earl of Ulster, and ended in a truce, which afforded Robert a favourable interval for consolidating his power. This truce was soon violated; war recommenced; and the contest was finally decided in favour of the gallant Bruce by the victory of Bannockbourn.

The successful progress of this young warrior, and his victorious acquisition of the crown of Scotland were events by no means unnoticed in Ireland. They were heard with wonder and delight by those natives who considered themselves allied in consanguinity to the Albanian Scots†, as they were styled, and by consequence peculiarly interested in their fortunes. They despised the weakness of the English prince; but were mortified at the reflection, that they alone had not seized the advantage of a contemptible and indolent reign in England to shake off the yoke which had so long and so severely oppressed them. The chieftains of Ulster in particular,

* Dr. Leland

† Fordun.

grew impatient to take the advantage of the present state of Britain; and as their situation made it easier to hold a correspondence with Scotland, they addressed themselves to Robert Bruce, who still pursued his advantage, and ravaged the northern parts of England without controul. They pathetically represented the distresses of their country; enlarged on the injuries they had sustained; painted the insolence and oppression of their invaders in the most offensive colours; entreating his assistance for an unhappy people, brethren and kinsmen to the Scots, who wanted but such a leader to execute their vengeance upon the common enemy; and who, rather than languish under their present miseries, were ready to receive a sovereign from Scotland and pay due allegiance to a prince who had valour to rescue them from slavery, and equity to receive and treat them as his subjects.

The genius of Robert was naturally formed for bold and adventurous enterprizes; and success had inflamed the ambition of his youth. Edward his brother had attended him in all his fortunes, and was distinguished by vigour and intrepidity. Scarcely had Robert been invested with the royal dignity of Scotland, when this aspiring young lord boldly demanded, as the just reward of his services, to be admitted to an equal share in his authority. A requisition evidently dictated by a turbulent and ambitious spirit, was justly alarming to a prince scarcely confirmed in his throne, and sensible of the dreadful consequence of any civil commotion or insurrection. Edward was for the present apparently satisfied with being declared and recognized heir apparent to the crown. But Robert, wisely considering the necessity of finding employment for the active temper of his brother, presented to his ambition the flattering prospect of a new kingdom; urged him to take advantage of the present disposition of the Irish lords, and assured him of such effectual support as could not fail to exterminate his rivals, and seat him on the throne of Ireland. Edward was transported at this overture, and at once consented to the enterprize. The chieftains of Ulster were assured that this lord should speedily be sent to their deliverance with a considerable force. The intelligence was spread through their province, every where received with joy, and the way prepared for a dangerous and extensive insurrection.

The impatience of young Edward * is said to have driven him to a precipitate and injudicious attempt upon the northern coast of Ireland, before a sufficient force could be provided for his enterprize, or his Irish partisans prepared to declare in favour of his cause. The attempt, which was

* Cox.

speedily repelled, should have given the alarm to an active and vigilant government: and lord Edmund Butler, now deputy to the king of England, actually proceeded to take measures for the defence and security of the realm. But the perpetual remonstrances made to the king of the partial and irregular administration of justice, the degeneracy of the English, and the other manifold disorders of Ireland, induced him to commission John de Hothom, a clergyman in whom he placed peculiar confidence, to confer with the great lords on the state and circumstances of this kingdom. By his advice, as well as that A.D. 1314. of some of the great officers of state, Richard earl of Ulster, the lords Edmund Butler and Theobald de Verdun, noblemen of distinguished eminence, and whose presence in Ireland was absolutely necessary upon any critical or alarming emergency, were summoned to parliament in England, to treat, as it expressed in the writ, with the king, his prelates, and nobles, about the affairs of Ireland, *and other of the king's arduous and urgent concerns.* Happily they returned early in the ensuing spring: and we find lord Edmund Butler, the chancellor, and the treasurer of Ireland, instructed to deliver the result of their deliberation, not only to the prelates, nobles, and magistrates, but to the principal chieftains of the Irish race; whom the king directs to give due credence to his commissioners, and to assist in executing the schemes devised for the general interest, little suspecting the inveterate aversion harboured by these chieftains, or the pestilent designs now ripening for execution.

On the twenty-fifth day of May, lord Edward Bruce appeared on the north eastern A.D. 1315. coast of Ireland, and, from a fleet of three hundred barks, landed six thousand hardy Scots, to assert his claim to the sovereignty of this kingdom. The Irish lords of Ulster who had invited and encouraged him to this enterprise, were now prepared to receive their new monarch, flocked with eagerness to his standard, bound themselves by solemn treaty to his service, delivered their hostages, and marched under his command to wreak their vengeance upon the common enemy. The barbarous policy of the Scot, which obliged him to strike terror into all his opponents, and the desperate resentment of the Irish, conspired to mark their progress by desolation and carnage. The English settlers of the north were butchered without mercy, or driven from their fairest possessions in a moment; their castles levelled to the ground, and their towns set on fire. Dundalk, Atherdee, and other places of less note, felt the utmost fury of these merciless ravagers; the same of whose progress

soon reached the most distant quarters of the island, and was received with triumph and exultation by all the enemies of English government, though the western and southern chieftains had not as yet taken arms in favour of the Scottish prince.

The English lords who should have opposed this dangerous invasion, were neither cordially united by their common danger, nor duly prepared to repel it. Richard earl of Ulster, indeed, rose up with such forces as he could collect, in defence of his possessions. He summoned his vassals to attend him at Roscommon; from whence marching to Athlone, he was here joined by Fedlin O'Connor, the Irish prince of Connaught, with his provincial troops. So that, issuing forth through the territory of Meath, he entered the northern province, wasting and desolating the districts which he traversed, to supply the necessities of his army. Butler, the lord deputy, at the same time, exerted his diligence to collect the troops of Leinster, and joined the earl with a considerable reinforcement. But Richard, whose declining vigour was supplied by a proud and imperious spirit, and who had been accustomed to treat the king's vicegerent as his inferior, disdained this assistance, declared that his own troops were more than sufficient to repel the Scots, and punish their adherents; advising the deputy to return to the seat of government, and confine his attention to the security of Leinster. Lord Edmund readily acquiesced; and the conduct of this war was entrusted solely to earl Richard.

But the prosecution of the war by no means corresponded with his magnificent promises; and the operations on both sides were indeed necessarily retarded by a season of remarkable dearth and distress, which had been felt through all the British islands. Bruce in the first ardour of success had advanced into the county of Louth. The earl followed; but without coming to a decisive action, skirmished with the enemy. Bruce thus harassed, and oppressed by intolerable scarcity of provisions, followed the advice of his chief associate, O'Nial of Tirowen, and retreated into Ulster. The earl pursued; and we are told, that after some inconsiderable actions, a general battle was fought near Colerain, which ended in the discomfiture of Richard. However this may be, the advantage could not be effectually improved, nor was the earl prevented from carrying on the war. Bruce was therefore obliged to recur to artifice and secret negotiation, in order to weaken and divide the forces of his enemy.

Fedlin, the Irish prince of Connaught*, who had united

* Camden,

with

with the earl of Ulster, was a youth of about twenty-two years, distinguished by a military genius, spirited, and inexperienced. His present connection had been formed merely to secure his provincial interests, and to defend him against the attempts of factious rivals. The flattering idea of glory, and the pride of ancestry, were still predominant in his mind, and rendered him a proper object for the artifice of Bruce. To him the Scottish prince secretly applied; he represented his present union as highly dishonourable to his station, and injurious to his country: he reminded him of the power and possessions which his ancestors had enjoyed, before the usurpation of the English had confined the princely family of Connaught within the narrowest and most inglorious limits: he entreated him no longer to turn his arms inconsiderately against those who were come to deliver him and his countrymen from oppression and usurpation; promising to reinstate him in the province of Connaught in as ample a manner as any of his most distinguished predecessors had enjoyed it, provided he would desert the English interest, and unite with his northern friends, as soon as it could be effected with safety to himself, and advantage to the common cause.

The young Irish prince listened to these overtures with eagerness, and soon found more than a plausible pretence to detach himself from the earl of Ulster. His absence from his own territory had produced the effect usually experienced by the Irish toparchs; and encouraged Roderic, one of his factious kinsmen, to endeavour to supplant him. The partisans of this leader were collected; his opponents readily subdued; and thus seizing the Irish district of Connaught, he entered into a negotiation with Edward Bruce, promising to expel the English from the whole province, if he were acknowledged as the rightful prince, and supported in the honours and possessions he had acquired. Bruce readily accepted his services, and received him as his ally; representing at the same time the extreme folly and danger of division, entreating him to leave the possessions of Fedlim unmolested, and to suspend the discussion of all particular claims and pretensions, till the common enemy should be first subdued, and the restoration of general peace allow them to be decided with due temper and propriety.

Roderic, little influenced by this counsel, continued to augment his forces, to harass the partisans of his rival, to raze and burn down their towns, until he had obliged the several sects to acknowledge his sovereignty, and to give hostages for their faithful attachment to his interest; so that Fedlim was obliged to propose to the earl of Ulster, to march with his whole army into Connaught to expel this

injurious

injurious usurper. Although the northern enemy were too formidable to permit the earl to comply with this overture, yet he could not, with any appearance of equity, detain the Irish chieftain from his immediate interests. Fedlim was dismissed with his provincials, amusing the earl with flattering assurances of an immediate return, when the disorders of his territory should be once composed. But the Irish prince was soon convinced that the progress of his rival had been too long neglected, and that his power was now too firmly established. The northern Irish, unacquainted with his secret transactions with Bruce, and regarding him as a pestilent enemy, harassed him incessantly through his whole march; and no sooner had he reached a place of safety, than he had the mortification to find it necessary to dismiss his weakened and dispirited followers.

He was soon followed into Connaught by the earl of Ulster and the remaining part of his army. This dismembered body had been obliged to retire before the northern and Scottish forces: nor could the leader secure his retreat without considerable loss. As the general distress of famine prevented Bruce from pursuing his advantage, after some ineffectual progress, he again retired; and as the forces raised by the English government shared in this distress, he remained in Ulster unmolested, assuming the parade of royalty, holding his courts of judicature, and affecting all the state and business of a sovereign, till new incidents enabled him to act a more vigorous and important part.

On the arrival of the earl of Ulster in Connaught, the party which espoused the cause of Fedlim immediately assembled in full confidence that their chieftain would now receive effectual support. But the shattered remains of a disgraced and discomfited army could but enable them to make a predatory war upon their antagonist, and to aggravate the distresses of the province, already worn out by pestilence and famine; till the arrival of Sir John Bermingham, a valiant and distinguished commander, with a select body of English forces, enabled Fedlim to meet his rival in the field. An engagement, which ended in the total defeat and death of Roderic, reinstated Fedlim in his possessions, as well as in the dignity of an Irish prince: and as gratitude had no place in his mind, the very first use made of his re-establishment, was to declare openly and zealously in favour of the Scottish interest, and to draw the sword against his deliverers. The example was instantly followed by O'Brien of Thomond, and other Irish chieftains of Munster and Meath. Industrious agents were every where employed to foment the spirit of insurrection. The clergy extolled Bruce as the
protector

protector and deliverer of their country; inveighed bitterly against the English government, and exhorted the ignorant laity to take up arms against the enemies of the church and the oppressors of the people. To improve these favourable impressions, Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned at Dundalk. To enable him to support his dignity, his brother Robert landed in Ireland with a powerful army; and although the general dearth and severity of the season obliged him to return before he could perform any distinguished service, yet that part of his forces which he left behind him was no inconsiderable reinforcement to his brother; and was still further increased by a conflux of discontented Irish, together with numbers of degenerate English, and among these the Lacies and their numerous followers. The town of Carrickfergus, which had long supported the most vigorous assaults of the Scottish troops, and patiently endured the most afflicting want and distress, now surrendered to Bruce; who, quitting his desolated quarters in the remoter districts of Ulster, marched southward with a barbarous army, inflamed to madness by the violent cravings of nature, and prepared to glut their frantic malice and allay the rage of hunger by the bloodiest hostilities and most ruthless depredations.

In the mean time the English lords, alarmed at the danger of their own lands and possessions, as well as that of the realm, proceeded to the most effectual measures in their power to repel the invasions with which they were threatened, both from Connaught and from Ulster. Amidst the treacherous revolts of many English subjects, and some of considerable note, the allegiance of all became in some degree suspicious*. Several of the most distinguished lords had therefore entered into an association to support the interests of king Edward with their lives and fortunes, and gave hostages to Hotham, his commissioner, as a surety for their faith and allegiance. To enliven and propagate this spirit of loyalty, the royal favour was extended to the most deserving and distinguished among them. John Fitz-Thomas, baron of O'Phaly, was created earl of Kildare: lord Edmond Butler received the title of earl of Carrick. The chiefs of the noble houses of Desmond and Kildare † exerted themselves with particular vigour, and took a principal part in the conduct of the war and the provisions necessary for the public defence. At the same time that they made such preparations as were in their power, to repel the irruptions of the Scots, an army was detached into Connaught, under the command of William de Burgho, brother to the earl of Ulster, and

* Rymer. † Davis.

Richard de Birmingham, to chastise the insolence of Fedlim O'Connor. This chieftain had seconded the efforts of Edward Bruce, by many spirited irruptions on the English settlements. Stephen of Exeter, Milo Cogan, William Pendergast, John Staunton, and other gallant knights, had been surprised and slain in his incursions. But he soon found himself encountered by an army which required all his power and vigour to withstand. His forces were collected; and, with the spirit of a warlike young chieftain, he marched against his formidable invaders. The contending parties met near the town of Athunree, where a desperate engagement was at length determined in favour of the English army; and Fedlim ended his short career by falling in the field of battle. The loss of the Irish in this action is magnified to eight thousand men. And the number was certainly considerable; for even the Irish writers declare, that no engagement had ever been so bloody and so decisive from the time of the first English invasion.

The fall of his Irish confederate of Connaught seemed to have little influence on the operations of Edward Bruce; who proceeded in his enterprize, and continued his destructive progress, without restraint or molestation, to the very walls of Dublin*. Hither the earl of Ulster had retired; and in this time of fear and suspicion, his former inactive and inglorious conduct added to the circumstance of his sister being married to Robert king of Scotland, raised such apprehensions of his secret disloyalty, that the chief magistrate of the city seized and imprisoned him; nor could all the authority of English government immediately effect his enlargement. Bruce was now at hand, to increase the terror and consternation of the citizens. They set fire to the suburbs with such precipitation, that their cathedral did not escape the fury of the flames; and retiring within their walls made such preparations for a vigorous defence, that the Scottish prince deemed it expedient to turn aside towards the territory of Kildare; through which he marched with the most terrifying execution, under the direction of Waller de Lacy, who had, but just now, solemnly disavowed all connection with the Scot, and renewed his oath of allegiance to the crown of England. He traversed the territory of Ossory, penetrated into Munster, and continued his ravages, not like a gallant conqueror, but a savage, driven on furiously by hunger and necessity.

In this time of distress and confusion, the friends of English government abandoned to their own resources, in an ex-

* Camden.

hausted country, surrounded by secret enemies, and every where harassed by petty depredations, could not without the utmost difficulty collect a force sufficient to stop the progress of the Scot. An army said to consist of thirty thousand, including a vast number of irregular, unprovided, and ineffective men, was at length assembled at Kilkenny. The Geraldines, who had now forgotten all their private jealousies and contests with other noble families, prepared to march out against the ravager, when intelligence arrived, that Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a nobleman who, in right of his wife, claimed large possessions in Meath, and who is said by some historians to have already taken a part in the present war, and to have been defeated by Bruce, had arrived at Youghal, with a train of about forty knights and their attendants, to take upon him the administration of government; and was on his march to join the main body. The motions of his enemies were not unknown to Bruce; who, conscious of his own real weakness, determined to avoid an engagement. His only resource was to lead his harassed army back to Ulster. By forced marches they arrived in Meath, unmolested; and halting for some days in the neighbourhood of Trim, from thence proceeded to their northern quarters.

The English forces were unable to pursue the enemy through a desolated country to a remote corner of the island. The new governor therefore dismissed his army, repaired to Dublin, convened the nobles to deliberate on the measures necessary to be taken, and, with their concurrence, prevailed on the magistracy to release the earl of Ulster from his confinement. Thence proceeding to Meath, he endeavoured to compose the disorders of this district, and particularly to reduce the proud and rebellious family of de Lacey. They were formerly summoned to appear and defend themselves against a charge of a treasonable intercourse with the king's enemies. But instead of abiding a judicial examination, they treated the summons as an indignity to their grandeur, and slew the messenger by whom it was delivered. To revenge this outrage, their lands were invaded, ravaged, and seized, and they themselves driven for shelter into Connaught, where they waited a favourable opportunity to unite once more with their Scottish ally.

The chief employment of the governor was now to repress the Irish insurgents of Leinster, to regulate this province, to correct the abuses of former administrations, and to apply the most effectual remedies in his power to the manifold distresses which the English subjects had long experienced, as well as the Irish natives. The English interest

seemed to revive under a spirited and well supported government, while the affairs of the invaders became every day more desperate. The sentence of excommunication was thundered from the papal chair against all the enemies of king Edward. Robert and Edward Bruce were excommunicated by name. The same dreadful sentence was denounced against the Irish clergy of every order, who had preached with so much zeal to excite their countrymen to insurrection. This interposition of the pontiff had been expected; and to guard against it, those Irish who had united with the Scots had the precaution to dispatch their emissaries to Rome with an affecting remonstrance presented in the name of O'Neil*, on the present state of their nation, and the cruel hardships they had long endured from English government. They recited the conditions on which Adrian had first permitted Henry II. to enter into Ireland. Far from shewing the least attention to these, both he and his successors, they alleged, had loaded the natives with unheard-of afflictions and oppressions, reducing them to a state of intolerable slavery; in which they had long remained without compassion or redress, till, no longer able to endure the severity of their sufferings, they had been forced to withdraw themselves from the dominion of England, and to invite another power to the government of their realm. And such was the effect of this remonstrance upon the pope, that soon after the sentences of excommunication were promulged, he transmitted it to king Edward, attended with an earnest exhortation to weigh the complaint, and to redress their grievances; that so the Irish who had taken arms in favour of the Scottish prince might be induced to return to their allegiance, or be left without excuse, should they persist in their revolt.

This application doth not appear to have been attended, nor in the present state of things could it be attended, with any immediate consequences. In the mean time the distresses of Edward Bruce in his state of inactive retirement, rose to a degree of suffering, horrible to be related. A country desolated by famine, pestilence, and war, afforded no subsistence to his wretched followers. Every miserable provision for the necessities of life had been exhausted by their repeated excursions. They daily fell in great numbers, under the oppression of disease and famine. Their carcases, we are assured, became the subsistence of the wretched survivors. The hideous incident is related, not only without the least expression of sensibility, but with such hardened indifference,

* Fordun. Bullar.

and a folly so provoking, that it is imputed as a judgment on their enormous offence of eating meat in Lent. In those parts of the kingdom where agriculture had not been totally interrupted, the return of a fruitful season proved a critical relief, and enabled the English to resume their military operations. A defeat, which they had sustained in Thomond, and which had been attended with considerable loss, obliged them to take vigorous measures to repair the misfortune, and to maintain their interest in this province. The northern enemies, however, were by no means neglected. On the return of Mortimer into England, the archbishop of Cashel and Dublin were successively deputed to the administration. This latter prelate assigned the command of the forces destined against the Scots to Sir John Birmingham, who marched into Ulster with several distinguished officers in his train, and about fifteen hundred chosen troops. Bruce, after all his losses, had still an army more than double of this number; and weakened and disordered as they were, the romantic valour of their leader was still confident and violent. He is said to have received advice that his brother Robert was on the point of coming to his assistance, and jealous of admitting him to share his military honours, purposely hastened his march to decide the contest by his own prowess. The two parties met near Dundalk; the Scots and their associates, animated by the hopes of putting an happy end to their distresses, encouraged by the impetuous valour of their leader, and relying on their superior numbers, were impatient to encounter an enemy, who had often fled before them. The English conducted by an able general, well provided and appointed, were equally impatient to exterminate those invaders who had so severely harassed and distressed the whole nation. The prelate of Armagh, a zealous partizan of the English interests, went through their ranks*, exhorting them to behave with due valour against the enemies of their nation, and the merciless ravagers of their possessions; distributing his benedictions, and pronouncing absolution on all those who should fall in a cause so just and honourable. The conflict was violent, and sustained on each side with equal bravery; but at length decided against the enfeebled northerns. The body of Maupas, a brave English knight, who had rushed into the ranks to encounter Edward Bruce, was found stretched on that of his antagonist, who had fallen by his arm. Robert Bruce arrived with his forces only to hear of the defeat of his unhappy brother, and instantly retired. The English leader

* Buchan.

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when he had first expelled O'Neil, the chief supporter of the Scots, from his territory of Tirowen, led back his victorious troops, and soon after received the earldom of Louth, and manor of Atherdee, as the reward of his distinguished services.

Such was the event of this Scottish invasion; an enterprise rashly undertaken by an aspiring young prince, who for almost three years had pursued the wild scheme of his ambition, through danger and calamity, involving the nation, which he sought to govern, in greater distress than a distressed and afflicted nation had experienced for ages; and closing the bloody roll of those his madness had destroyed, by his own untimely end. Unhappily for Ireland, the calamities, which this war had introduced, were of such a kind as could not cease with their immediate cause. The dismal effects of war, especially in a country circumstanced as Ireland was at this time, are not to be estimated solely by the troops lost in battle, or the towns taken: those which history deigns not to record were yet more afflicting and extensive. The oppression exercised with impunity in every particular district; the depredations every where committed among the inferior orders of the people, not by open enemies alone, but those who called themselves friends and protectors, and who justified their outrages by the plea of lawful authority; their avarice and cruelty, their plundering and massacres, were still more ruinous than the defeat of an army, or the loss of a city. The wretched sufferers had neither power to repel, nor law to restrain or vindicate their injuries. In times of general commotion, laws the most wisely framed and most equitably administered, are but of little moment. But now the very source of public justice was corrupted and poisoned. In the distinction maintained between the Irish foedary and the English subject, and the different modes of jurisdiction by which each was governed, every day demonstrated, by its miserable effects, the iniquity of those who had favoured this horrid and infatuated policy.

The murder of an Irishman was punishable only by a fine; a slight restraint on the rage of insolence and rapine; while the murder of an Englishman was a capital offence in the Irish native. On the other hand, the Englishman who robbed or plundered one of his own countrymen was condemned to death: the Irishman convicted of the like crime was remitted to his Brehon, who might allow him to compound for his offence: an indulgence which tempted numbers of disordered English to renounce their names and nation, to adopt the manners, and conform to the wretched polity of the natives; and produced a dangerous relaxation and abuse even
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in the English tribunals. The judges, either by the force of pernicious example, or from the necessity of a disordered state, assumed an authority of compounding by fine even for the crimes of robbery and homicide; which increased the number of delinquents, and gave full scope to their lawless violence, confident that a sum of money could atone for their excesses, and leave them at full liberty to wreak the bloodiest vengeance on their accusers. This evil was so severely felt during the Scottish war, that the Irish council represented the pernicious innovation to the king of England, with all its dreadful consequences, earnestly petitioning that no pardon or redemption for any murder or robbery of an English subject should be granted, but in full parliament*; and for this purpose particularly, that a parliament should be held in Ireland once every year. And there is authority for asserting that an ordinance was made in consequence of this application, and in full compliance with the request.

But whatever salutary institutions might be ordained, a general disinclination in the people to obey them, and too good grounds to hope for impunity in their neglect or resistance, proved sufficient to defeat their good effects. Such was the blind rage with which the degenerate English rushed into the excesses of rapine, that they renounced their rights as subjects, at the imminent danger of their lives, which were thus rendered more precarious and defenceless; and even the Irish who were denized, could not at once divest themselves of prejudice and habit. They were astonished to find, that felony was to be punished capitally, and absolutely refused obedience to so severe a jurisdiction. So that a special ordinance was made in the fourteenth year of Edward II. that all the Irish who had received, or should receive, charters of denization, were for the future to be strictly obedient to the English laws in this particular instance.

But neither a lawless disposition in the people to be governed, nor any irregular and partial execution of justice in the ministers, who appear to have been at this time notoriously corrupt and insufficient†, were the only evils which had arisen during the course of this unhappy war; for the support whereof, as Davis observes, "the revenue of the land was far too short, and yet no supply of treasure was sent out of England." The compendious Irish method of quartering soldiers on the inhabitants, and leaving them to support themselves by arbitrary exactions, which seemed to have been pointed out by the urgent occasion, was adopted with alacrity, and executed with rigour. Riot, rapine, massacre, and

* Coke.

† Rymer.

all the tremendous effects of anarchy, were the natural consequences. Every inconsiderable party, who, under pretence of loyalty, received the king's commission to repel the adversary in some particular district, became pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their properties, their lives, the chastity of their families, were all exposed to barbarians, who fought only to glut their brutal passions; and by their horrible excesses saith the annalist, purchased the curse of God and man. The English freeholder abandoned his lands rather than endure the burden of impositions intolerably severe, attended with such dreadful circumstances of outrage: he fled to the haunts of the Irish insurgents, connected and allied himself with these, learned their language and manners, and marched out with them against the common enemy; while his lands were resumed by the barbarous natives as their original and rightful property.

The same method of arbitrary exactions *, or *coyne and livery*, as it was called, for the maintenance of the soldiery, was also adopted by lords of considerable note and consequence; and, particularly, began at this time to be exercised with great severity by Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond. His ministers of rapine, in a short time, banished all the English settlers from the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford; whose lands were seized by the followers of this lord, a mixed rabble, mostly of the Irish race, and all infected with the most pernicious part of Irish manners. Desmond himself, saith sir John Davis, taking what scopes he best liked for his demesnes in every country, and reserving an Irish superiority out of the rest.

Possessions thus acquired could not be maintained by the just and equitable law of England, whose sentence must have dispossessed the usurpers, and restored the rightful owners to their lands. Maurice and his partizans had therefore but one method to secure their present acquisitions, an utter renunciation of English law and government. He degenerated into an Irish chieftain, and supported a barbarous state over all his followers: they soon united into one mass, English and Irish equally disdaining all salutary discipline and polity, and sinking into the utmost rudeness of manners; knowing and acknowledging no other power but that of their immediate chieftain. The pernicious example was followed by other lords: for the power and influence thus acquired by Maurice was an enviable object. In various quarters of the island, the more powerful of the English race, by the same arbitrary exactions and oppressions, banished the inhabitants, and erected themselves into independent sovereigns. The

* Davis.

discontented natives were thus encouraged to rise up in arms, even in the territories of Leinster, when the English settlers had been driven either into their native country, or to the Irish septs. The only measure taken in the distractions of England, and the weakness of Irish government, was that of enacting some futile ordinances against those impositions which had been the cause of all this disorder, without power to enforce obedience.

In a country where the English interest was thus sensibly declining, one would imagine that few resources could be found or sought, for the necessities of England. Yet the weak and injudicious attempt on Scotland, was made the pretence for calling off those forces A. D. 1322. from Ireland, which should have been employed against domestic enemies. And the pope, with a composed insensibility to the distresses of a distant country, granted to king Edward a tenth of all the English revenues in Ireland for two years. The laity were duly obedient, and led their troops into Scotland. The clergy were more refractory. They might have pleaded the general distress of their nation, and their own total inability. But they had to deal with those who were not to be influenced by arguments of reason and equity. They had therefore recourse to evasion: they demanded the pope's original bull; and as this was not produced, they refused to pay the subsidy.

The disordered state of England, which had encouraged this spirit of disobedience, and aggravated, if not originally occasioned all the distresses of Ireland, ended at length in the ruin of the weak and wretched Edward; who, in the extremity of distress, made a fruitless effort to throw himself into the arms of his Irish subjects. Had he gained this island, the horrible catastrophe of his death might have been prevented; and even his deposition at least suspended. But the triumph of his enemies was complete. Among the articles of accusation urged against the king, they insulted him with the loss of his dominions in Ireland, as if this were not more justly chargeable to their own perfidy and rebellion.

C H A P. XII.

The Earl of Desmond was the first Irish Chieftain that was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—Irish Massacre—Commercial advantages granted to the Irish—Address presented to the Prince of Wales respecting the Regency—Literature.

DURING the minority of Edward III. the commotions were again renewed in Ireland, and not suppressed without great loss and disgrace on the side of the English. In 1333 a rebellion broke out, in which the English inhabitants had no inconsiderable share. A succession of vigorous, brave governors, at last quieted the insurgents; and about the year 1361, prince Lionel, son to Edward III. having married the heiress of Ulster, was sent over to govern Ireland, and, if possible, to reduce its inhabitants to an entire conformity to the laws of England. In this he made a great progress, but did not entirely accomplish it. It appears, that at this time the Irish were in a very flourishing condition, and that one of the greatest grievances they complained of was, that the English sent over men of mean birth to govern them. In 1394, Richard II. finding that the execution of his despotic schemes in England must be abortive without farther support, he passed over to Ireland with an army of thirty-four thousand men, well armed and appointed. As he made no use of force, the Irish regarded his presence as a high compliment to their nation, and admired the magnificence of his court. Richard, on the other hand, courted them by all the arts he could employ, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on their chiefs. In short, he behaved so as entirely to win their affections. But in 1399, after having acted in a very despotic manner in England, he undertook a fresh expedition into Ireland, to revenge the death of his lord-lieutenant, the earl of March, who had been killed by the wild Irish. His army again struck the natives with consternation, and they threw themselves upon his mercy. It was during this expedition, that the duke of Lancaster landed in England; and Richard, upon his return, finding himself deserted by his English subjects on account of his tyranny, and that he could not depend upon the Irish, surrendered his crown to his rival.

The Irish after Richard's death, still retained a warm affection for the house of York; and upon the revival of that family's claim to the crown, embraced its cause. Edward IV. made the earl of Desmond lord-lieutenant of Ireland for his services

services against the Ormond party and other adherents of the house of Lancaster, and he was the *first Irish chieftain* that obtained this honour*. Even the accession of Henry VII. to the crown of England did not reconcile the Irish to his title as duke of Lancaster; they therefore readily joined Lambert Simnel, who pretended to be the eldest son of Edward IV. but for this they paid dear, being defeated in their attempt to invade England. This made them somewhat cautious at first of joining Perkin Warbeck, who was, however, at last recognized as king by the Irish; and in the preceding pages under the history of England, the reader may learn the event of his pretensions. Henry behaved with moderation towards his unfortunate partizans, and was contented with requiring the Irish nobility to take a fresh oath of allegiance to his government. This lenity had the desired effect, during the administration of the two earls of Kildare, the earl of Surry, and the earl of Ormond. Henry VIII. governed Ireland by supporting its chiefs against each other, but they were tampered with by the emperor Charles V. upon which Henry made his natural son, the duke of Richmond, his lord-lieutenant. This did not prevent the Irish from breaking out into rebellion under Fitz-Gerald, who had been lord de- A. D. 1540.
puty, and was won over by the emperor, but was at last hanged at Tyburn. After this the house of Austria found their account in the quarrels with England, to form a strong party among the Irish.

James V. king of Scotland formed some pretensions to the crown of Ireland, and was fa- A. D. 1542.
voured by a strong party among the Irish themselves†. It is hard to say, had he lived, what the consequence of his claim might have been. Henry understood that the Irish had a mean opinion of his dignity, as the kings of England had hitherto assumed no higher title than that of lords of Ireland. He therefore took that of king of Ireland, which had a great effect with the native Irish, who thought that allegiance was not due to a lord; and indeed, it was somewhat surprising that this expedient was not thought of before. It produced a more perfect submission of the native Irish to Henry's government than ever had been known; and even O'Neil, who pretended to be successor to the last paramount king of Ireland, swore allegiance to Henry, who created him earl of Tyrone. The pope, however, and the princes of the house of Austria, by remitting money, and sometimes sending over troops to the Irish, still kept up their

* Simollett.

† Buchanan.

interest in that kingdom, and drew from them vast numbers of men to their armies, were they proved as good soldiers as any in Europe. This created inexpressible difficulties to the English government, even in the reign of Edward VI. but it is remarkable, that the reformation took place in the English part of Ireland with little or no opposition. The Irish seem to have been very quiet during the reign of queen Mary; but they proved thorns in the side of queen Elizabeth. The perpetual disputes she had with the Roman catholics, both at home and abroad, gave her great uneasiness; and the pope and the house of Austria always found new resources against her in Ireland.

In the reign of Charles I. the Irish Roman Catholics in general, were influenced by their priests to hope not only to repossess the lands of their forefathers, but to restore the popish religion in Ireland. They therefore entered into a deep and detestable conspiracy for massacring all the English protestants in that kingdom. In this they were encouraged by the unhappy dissensions that broke out between the king and his parliament in England and Scotland. Their bloody plan being discovered by the English government at Dublin, prevented the city from falling into their hands. They, however, partly executed in 1641 their horrid scheme of massacre: but authors are not agreed as to the numbers who were murdered, perhaps they have been exaggerated by warm protestant writers. "By some computations," says an elegant historian, "those, who perished by all those cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand; by the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they must have been near forty thousand*." Cromwell retaliated the cruelties of the Irish Papists upon themselves; and they smarted so severely, that they were quiet during the reign of Charles II. His popish successor, and brother to James II. even after the revolution took place, found an asylum in Ireland; and was encouraged to hope that, by the assistance of the natives there, he might remount his throne: but he was deceived and his own pusillanimity co-operated with his disappointment. He was driven out of Ireland by his son-in-law, after the battle of the Boyne, the only victory that king William ever gained in person, a victory, however, on which depended the safety of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the British empire. Had James been victorious, he probably would have been reinstated on the throne, and nothing else could be expected than that being irritated by opposition, victorious over

his enemies, and free from every restraint, he would have trampled upon all rights, civil and religious, and pursued more arbitrary designs than before.

The forfeitures that fell to the crown, on account of the Irish rebellions and the revolution, are almost incredible; and had the acts of parliament which gave them away been strictly enforced, Ireland must have been peopled with British inhabitants. But many political reasons occurred for not driving the Irish to despair. The friends of the revolution and the protestant religion were sufficiently gratified out of the forfeited estates. Too many of the Roman catholics might have been forced abroad; and it was proper that a due balance should be preserved between the Roman catholic and the protestant interest. It was therefore thought prudent to relax the reins of government, and not to put the forfeitures too rigorously into execution. The experience of half a century has confirmed the wisdom of the above considerations *. The lenity of the measures pursued in regard to the Irish Roman Catholics, and the great pains taken for the instruction of their children, with the progress which knowledge and the arts have made in that country, have greatly diminished the popish interest. The spirit of industry has enabled the Irish to know their own strength and importance; to which some accidental circumstances have concurred. All her ports were opened for the exportation of wool to any part of Great Britain; and of late years, acts of parliament have been made occasionally for permitting the importation of salt beef, pork, butter, cattle, and tallow, from Ireland to Great Britain.

But though some laws and regulations had occasionally taken place favourable to Ireland, it must be acknowledged, that the inhabitants of that country laboured under considerable grievances, in consequence of several injudicious restraints of the parliament of England respecting their trade. These restraints had injured Ireland without benefiting Great Britain. The Irish had been prohibited from manufacturing their own wool, in order to favour the woollen manufactory of England. The consequence of which was, that the Irish wool was smuggled over into France, and the people of that country were thereby enabled to rival us in our woollen manufactory, and to deprive us of a part of that trade. An embargo had also been laid on the exportation of provisions from Ireland, which had been extremely prejudicial to that kingdom. The distresses of the Irish manufacturers, as well as those of Great Britain, had likewise been

much increased by the consequences of the American war. These circumstances occasioned great murmuring in Ireland, and attempts were made in the British parliament, for the relief of the inhabitants of that kingdom; but for some time without success. Several incidents, however, which happened afterwards, at length operated strongly in favour of that kingdom. When a large body of the king's troops had been withdrawn from Ireland, in order to be employed in the American war, a considerable number of Irish gentlemen, farmers, traders, and other persons, armed and formed themselves into volunteer companies and associations, for the defence of Ireland against any foreign invaders. By degrees these volunteer associations became numerous; and it was soon discovered, that they were inclined to maintain their rights at home, as well as to defend themselves against foreign enemies. When these armed associations became numerous and formidable, the Irish began to assume a higher tone than that to which they had before been accustomed:

and it was soon manifest, than their remonstrances met with unusual attention, both from their own parliament and from that of Great

Britain. The latter presented an address to the king, recommending to his majesty's most serious consideration the distressed and impoverished state of the loyal and well deserving people of Ireland, and desiring him to direct that there should be prepared, and laid before parliament, such particulars relative to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland, as should enable the national wisdom to pursue effectual measures for promoting the common strength, wealth, and commerce of his majesty's subjects in both kingdoms. To this address the king returned a favourable answer; and in October, the same year, both houses of the Irish parliament also presented addresses to his majesty, in which they declared, that nothing but granting Ireland a free trade could save it from ruin. In the mean time the members of the opposition, in the English parliament, very strongly represented the necessity of an immediate attention to the complaints of the people of Ireland, and of a compliance with their wishes. Laws were accordingly passed, by which all those acts were repealed, which had prohibited the exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland, and other acts by which the trade of that kingdom to foreign countries had been restrained; and it was likewise enacted, that a trade between Ireland and the British colonies in America, and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, should be allowed to be carried on in the same manner, and subject to similar regulations and restrictions, with that

that carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements. These laws in favour of Ireland were received with much joy and exultation in that kingdom: and the Irish nation, being indulged in their requisitions respecting trade, now began also to aim at important constitutional reformations; and in various counties and cities of Ireland, the rights of the British parliament to make laws which should bind that kingdom, was denied in public resolutions. By degrees, the spirit which had been manifested by the Irish parliament seemed a little to subside; and a remarkable instance of this was, their agreeing to a perpetual mutiny bill, for the regulation of the Irish army, though that of England had always been passed, with a true constitutional caution, only from year to year. This was much exclaimed against by some of the Irish patriots; and it is indeed not easy to clear their parliament from the charge of inconsistency: but this bill was afterwards repealed, and the commercial advantages afforded them by late acts in their favour, have greatly contributed to promote the prosperity of Ireland. By the act repealing the statute of the 6th of George I. they are now fully and completely emancipated from the jurisdiction of the British parliament. The appellent jurisdiction of the British house of peers in Irish causes, was likewise given up. But though the Irish have obtained so great an extension of their liberties, it is very questionable whether it will terminate to their country's real advantage. Their parties and dissensions increase, and it remains to establish such a commercial and political connection between the two kingdoms as will promote the interest and happiness of both countries, and make them one great, stable, and invulnerable body.

Upon the occasion of the severe illness by which the king was afflicted, the lords and commons of Ireland came to a resolution to address the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon him the government of that kingdom during his majesty's indisposition, under the style and title of *Prince Regent of Ireland*, and to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of the realm, all the royal authorities, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereto belonging. The marquis of Buckingham, being then lord lieutenant, having declined presenting the address, as contrary to his oath and the laws, the two houses resolved on appointing delegates from each: the lords appointed the duke of Leinster, and the earl of Charlemont; and the commons, four of their members. The delegates proceeded to London, and presented the address to his Royal Highness, by whom they were most graciously received; but his majesty having, to the infinite joy of all his subjects, recovered

covered from his severe indisposition, the prince returned them an answer fraught with the warmest sentiments of regard for the kingdom, and of gratitude to parliament, for the generous manner in which they proposed investing him with the regency, but, that the happy recovery of his royal father had now rendered his acceptance of it unnecessary.

No *literary* monuments have been discovered in Ireland earlier than the introduction of Christianity into it. About the middle of the seventh century, many nobles, and other orders of the Anglo-Saxons, retired from their own country into Ireland, either for instruction, or for an opportunity of living in monasteries of stricter discipline; and it is recorded that the Irish maintained them, taught them, and furnished them with books, without fee or reward *;—"a most honourable testimony, not only to the learning, but likewise to the hospitality and bounty of that nation †." In modern times the Irish have greatly distinguished themselves in the republic of letters. Archbishop Usher does honour to literature itself. Dean Swift, who was a native of Ireland, has perhaps never been equalled in the walks of wit, humour, and satire. The sprightliness of Farquhar's wit is well known to all lovers of the drama. And among the men of distinguished genius whom Ireland has lately produced, may also be particularly mentioned sir Richard Steele, bishop Berkeley, Parnell, Sterne, and Goldsmith.

C H A P. XIII.

Curious Particulars respecting Ireland, and the Language, Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Ancient Irish.

SIR William Temple is of opinion, that the name of Ireland is derived from the river Lerne in that island, whence the Saxons styled it Irenland, and by abbreviation Ireland. But why should it not acquire the name of Ironland, and so from thence Ireland, from the great number of mines of that kind of ore with which it abounded?

Amongst those who pretend to account for the name Hibernia, there are scarcely two who agree together. Some

* Venerable Bede.

† Lord Lyttelton.

ly that the sons of *Milesius*, who invaded the island, gave it this name, either from the river *Iberus* in Spain from whence they came, or from *Heber* one of their brethren. Other historians suppose that foreigners finding this island an odd end of the world, moist and foggy, took it at first for a cold country, and therefore named it *Hibernia*, in order to express the winter-land. But as a very short experience would disprove this supposition, so the name thus given to it would scarcely have been continued, even by those who might first impose it. A late writer is of opinion, "that as *Iberia* signified in the ancient Celtic, any country or place that was situated over or on the other side of a sea or river, so these might naturally be called *Iberians*, on account of their situation with respect to Gaul or Germany, by those who lived there and trafficked with them*." The corruption afterwards to *Hibernians*, he adds, to distinguish them from *Spaniards*, is not material.

According to the report of all history and tradition, nothing venomous is brought forth or can be nourished and live in Ireland: but whether this be owing to the air or the soil, naturalists do not agree. The old historians indeed entertain their readers with many strange accounts of experiments that have been made of the sovereign virtue of this island in destroying venomous creatures; and they carry it so far as to say, not only that the smell of the land will kill them, but that water, in which the scrapings of books from Ireland had been steeped, had cured the stings of adders. Our venerable *Bede* himself relates this very gravely: but many of the ancient Irish attribute this virtue, not to the climate nor the soil, but to the prayers of *St. Patrick* who converted the island. Nay *Keating* goes further than this, and tells us, that it is in consequence of a prophecy which *Moses* made to a Scythian prince, that wherever his posterity should inhabit, the country should not be infested with poisonous creatures. But however fabulous this may be, one cannot help being astonished, that so pleasant, healthy, and temperate a climate as Ireland, should have remained so many ages as it did, in the depth of barbarism and ignorance, uncultivated and unimproved.

There was so much wood in Ireland, in the earliest ages, that one of the names which it had from foreigners was the "Island of Woods;" given to it, say the old historians, by one whom *Ninu* the son of *Bel* sent to discover it. Whether there be any truth in the old Irish saying or not, "that Ireland was thrice under the plow-share, thrice it was wood,

"*and thrice it was bare,*"—it is evident, by all the writings and monuments of ancient time, that, as long as the land was in possession of the native Irish, it was full of woods on every side. Thus in digging out the earth for a new canal from Loughneagh to Dublin for an inland navigation, a forest, as it may be called, was discovered under ground; a vast number of fallen trees of ash, oak, alder, &c. lying near a mile in length under a covering of earth, in some places six, in others eight feet deep, many of which were of a large size, tumbled down one over another, some lying in straight lines, and others in a transverse or oblique position. Many discoveries of this kind have been made all over the island.

Of the mines which are now in Ireland, there were none that we know of that were discovered by the ancient Irish, nor by the English, till the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth. Since that period many mines of iron, and some of lead and silver mixed, have been found in divers parts of the island. This hath given rise to an opinion of many skilful people that the mountains of Ireland are full of metals; and that if the same care and diligence had been used by the inhabitants of that country in former ages, as since the period abovementioned, many more might have been discovered; not of the same kind only with those which are now worked, but of others also, and perhaps even of gold itself.

The iron mines are of three sorts, the bog, the rock, and the mountain mine; which last is again distinguished, into white, pin, and shell mine. Besides these there are three mines of lead and silver mixed; so rich, that from one in the county of Antrim, every thirty pounds of lead yielded a pound of pure silver. The veins of another mine in the county of Tipperary, which gives the name of Silver-mines to a market-town there, commonly rise within three or four fipit deep from the surface, the land being mountainous and barren. They yield two different sorts of ore; the one, which is most usual, is of a reddish colour, hard and glistering; and the other, like marl, bluish and softer than the first, though judged much the best, and productive of the greatest quantity of silver. The ore has yielded generally about three pounds of silver out of a tun, besides a great deal of lead, and some quicksilver, which made it very valuable. Lord Strafford, during the time of his administration, sent an ingot of silver to king Charles I. of three hundred ounces from the royal mines of Ireland: and in about four years after, he tells the secretary of state in one of his letters, "that the lead mines in Munster were so rich, that every fodder of lead," which may be meant of a load, had in it to the value of thirty pounds of fine silver.

The *language* of the Irish is fundamentally the same with the British and Welch, and a dialect of the Celtic, which is made use of by the Scotch Highlanders, opposite to the Irish coasts. It is, however, in a great measure defaced by provincial alterations, but not so altered as to render the Irish, Welch, and Highlanders, unintelligible to each other.

As the Britons and Hibernians had the same origin, so in their *religion* it is probable they were not very different. But as the Druids, who had almost the sole management of all public affairs in these islands, never committed any of their polity to writing, at least in legible characters, there is very little handed down concerning the religion of these ancient people. This much however seems to be pretty clear, that it had a near resemblance, if it was not the very same, with the principles and the worship of the Gauls their progenitors, deduced from those of the old Celtæ. What this original Celtic religion was, we learn not only from the Irish history, but from the concurrent testimony of foreign authors. It was the same with that of the old patriarchs. They worshipped one Supreme Being, not in temples but in groves; which being open at the top and sides, were, in their opinion, more acceptable to the divine and unconfined Being whom they adored. They believed a future state of rewards and punishments suitable to their behaviour here: they offered victims to the Deity, and celebrated some festivals in honour of him; and in most things observed a great simplicity in their religious rites. This is a short and concise system, which it is probable the old Celtæ brought with them from Gaul into Britain, and which came thence with the first inhabitants into Ireland; till the fair face of religion became clouded and obscured, as well as in other nations, by idolatry and impious rites. There are many remains of ancient altars still to be seen in several parts of the island; which from the rude unhewn stones they are built with, and the manner in which they are placed, afford an almost certain conjecture that they were intended for sacrifice; agreeable to the antediluvian practices founded upon Abel's offering the firstlings of his flock. There is a passage in the book of Exodus which countenances this conjecture. "If thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for, if thou lift thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."

If we inquire into the *manners* of the ancient Irish from English writers, we find their representations odious and disgusting; if from writers of their own race, they frequently break out into the most animated encomiums of their great ancestors. The one can scarcely allow them any virtue;

the other, in their enthusiastic ardour, can scarcely discover the least imperfection in their laws, government, or manners. The historian of England sometimes regards them as the most detestable and contemptible of the human race. The antiquary of Ireland raises them to an illustrious eminence, above all other European people. Yet, when we examine their records, without regard to legendary tales or poetic fictions, we find them, even in their most brilliant periods, advanced only to an imperfect civilization, a taste which exhibits the most striking instances both of the virtues and the vices of humanity. As each province was governed by a prince, so one monarch was chosen to preside over the whole collection of dynasties. The dignity of this monarch was supported by tributes paid by inferior princes, at least from the time that Meath ceased to be his peculiar appendage. They were paid in every kind of cattle, mantles, clothes, and utensils; not as tributes of bondage, say the old records, but as benevolence granted in return for the benefits of his laws and the benedictions of his clergy. Yet the number and quality of the tributes to be paid by every inferior dynasty were accurately ascertained. The monarch on his part was bound to purchase the service and attachment of his inferiors, by large donations of kine, sheep, horses, swine, arms, mantles, drinking-cups, of which every chieftain claimed his particular portion, and in return was bound to entertain the monarch, in his progress *, for a stated time, and to attend him for some certain days or months, and no longer, in his military expeditions.

Such is the account collected from an old Irish record called "the Book of Tributes." The obligations of the monarch and his subjects were mutual; each had their rights defined; and each lived in perpetual jealousy of the encroachments of the other. The factious easily devised pretences for withholding tribute from the monarch; the monarch, in this case, could seek redress only by making war upon his subjects. If the presents demanded by every inferior prince were denied, delayed, or not exactly proportioned to his claims, he refused his services. The monarch was left to the resources of his hereditary province; and in the most dangerous emergencies was frequently without any army. Hence sudden revolutions, and tragical catastrophes, the effects of pride, ambition, and resentment. Even when the military service was performed, chieftains must have oftentimes marched to the field, with a secret indifference or

* The christian clergy were particularly careful to inculcate this virtue of hospitality.

distaste to the cause in which they were engaged; and these they easily contrived to propagate among their followers. Hence, in the hour of danger, they frequently fled on the first attack. Men, who at other times display such intrepidity, could scarcely yield with so much ease and apparent indifference, if they had not thought their interest and their honour totally unconcerned in the quarrel; if they had not been discontented with their leader; and their leader too weak to restrain or punish them.

The military genius of the ancient Irish, from the nature of their government and domestic warfare, it is natural to imagine, must hold one of the highest ranks in the state. Their princes were inured to fatigue and martial discipline, from their infancy, as much as any of their subjects, and made military stratagems a great part of their study. The kings gave the order of knighthood to their sons at seven years of age, with the following ceremony: At the time of the creation, the boys were armed with light and slender spears in proportion to their strength, ran several courses against a shield that was set up and fastened in the midst of a plain for that purpose; and he that broke most spears had the principal honour of the day. The Irish, like their progenitors, never made use of fortified towns for their defence, thinking them a check upon heroic bravery, and a sort of coat of mail for cowards. They placed their defence as well as confidence in martial fury, and they dreaded slavery more than death itself. They began their onsets with the utmost enthusiasm, and yet they rallied with coolness and dexterity. Their kings were so jealous of their glory, and this glory was so much envied, that, from the beginning to the end of the history, there is scarce an instance to be found of any monarch's surviving the loss of his crown; which he always wore in the day of battle. Their horsemen, who rode at first without saddles and afterwards without stirrups, were armed with arrows and javelins, and some with coats of armour. They had servants on foot who had only darts, and who took care of their horses. Their military chariots were in great use, before the cavalry were introduced, to break the enemy's ranks and to throw them into confusion; at which they were so expert, that many great feats are recorded of their ancient martial charioteers. In the middle age they had two sorts of infantry, some called Galloglasses, armed with an helmet, a coat of mail, and a long sword; and in the right hand they carried a pole-ax with which they often did terrible execution. The light armed foot were furnished with darts and daggers or two-edged javelins, in the use of which they were very expert. Military music was much studied and delighted in by

this warlike people, as it fired them with courage, enthusiasm, and contempt of danger; and by the help of this alone they founded the charge, rallied, or retreated.

The power and government of a provincial king were exactly similar to those of the monarch. His successor or Tanist was elected in his life-time; he received tributes from inferior chieftains, paid for their services, was entertained in his visitations, and attended by them in his wars. Inferior toparchs governed their respective districts in the same manner: and to these again a number of lords were subordinate, who dwelt in their raths, as they were called, or enclosures of a dwelling-house and offices; parcelled out lands to their inferiors, who again possessed their smaller raths, and commanded a smaller number of independents. In these petty societies we may view the manners of the Irish more distinctly. No man was bound to continue in them longer than he found it necessary for his interest. On his admission, he took the name of the Chieftain or Flath as he was called; on his death, or departure, a new partition was made of all the lands belonging to the particular district, by virtue of the law of "Gavel-kind," as the English called it. Through the whole country the tenure of lands determined with the life of the possessor; and as the crimes or misfortunes of men frequently forced them from one tribe to another, property was eternally fluctuating, and new partitions of lands made almost daily. Hence, the cultivation of grounds was only in proportion to the immediate demands of nature, and the tributes to be paid to superiors. And whatever magnificent structures might have been erected for occasions of state, or for religious worship, it is certain that both princes and people dwelt in houses slightly composed of hurdles.

Among a rude people, hospitality was a principal virtue. It was enjoined by law: and as neither lords nor tenants were bound to each other, as the whole tribe might migrate to some more favourable district, the Brehon institutes expressly enjoin that no rath shall break up suddenly, lest the traveller should be disappointed of his expected reception. But neither the duties to be received by the lord, nor the entertainment he was to expect from his inferiors, were determined by his arbitrary will and pleasure. They were proportioned to the benefits received from him, and ascertained by the laws: so that the lord could exact his coshering, his cuddies, his bonnaught, names denoting particular modes of provision for the temporary support of himself and his attendants; and which in latter times were found so grievous, and so severely condemned, under the denominations of "coyne and livery." Even the lowest of the people claimed reception

tion and refreshment, by an almost perfect right: and so ineffectual is the flux of many centuries to efface the ancient manners of a people, that at this day the wandering beggar enters the house of a farmer or gentleman, with as much ease and freedom as an inmate. The benevolent spirit of Christianity served to enforce and countenance such manners. "The most holy men of heaven," say the Irish laws, "were remarkable for hospitality; and the gospel commands us to receive the sojourner, to entertain him, and to relieve his wants."

These laws not only provide against murder, rapes, adultery, theft, robbery; but such crimes as are not generally cognizable by human tribunals; such as slander, tale-bearing, or disrespect to superiors. But at this day it will not be regarded as a distinguishing mark of barbarity that the most outrageous offences were punishable only by an *eric* or fine. That for murder was to be paid by the perpetrator or his family, to the son, or relations of the deceased, and in proportion to their degrees of consanguinity; that for adultery, to the husband of the offender, by her father or nearest relations; or, if a bond-woman, by the tribe which entertained her, or, by the church which she served. The incestuous person not only paid his *eric*, but was instantly expelled from his tribe. Nor could any man be admitted into a new tribe, until he had paid *eric* for all the offences committed in his former residence. The fine paid to a son for the murder of his father was rated at seven *cumpals*, as they were called, or twenty-one kine. Hence we may form a judgment of the lenity of their penal laws in other instances. The property and security of woods, the regulation of water-courses, but above all the property of bees, on which depended the principal beverage of the people, were guarded by a number of minute institutions, which breathe a spirit of equity and humanity.

Of all the customs of the Irish, that of *fosterage*, as it is called, hath been a particular subject of speculation. Their writers generally agree, that children were mutually given, from different families, to be nursed and bred up in others; and that inferiors, instead of expecting any reward for their care, purchased the honour of fostering the children of the rich. Hence, we are told, a stricter connection and confederacy were formed between different families and different tribes. There is no doubt, but that children bred from their infancy together, in the same family, under the same parental care, in the same sports and occupations, with minds untainted by pride, and inattentive to wordly distinctions, considered each other as real brethren, and contracted warm affections, which time could not extinguish: that they regarded their

fosterers with a filial reverence; and were oftentimes, through life, attended by the children of these fosterers with a zealous and steady attachment. But I cannot allow that fosterage was purposely devised by politicians to produce these effects, that there was a mutual exchange of children, or any mutual alliances intended or concerted by such an exchange. The Brehon laws seem to intimate, that fostering was the occupation of those whose inferior condition rendered them incapable of doing other services to the public. "No man," say they, "shall in any case be entitled to *eric* but he who pays tribute or *fosters*: and, in their injunctions on all orders of women, their expression is from the queen to the *fosterefs*." So far are the fragments of these laws from favouring the notion that the honour of breeding children was ever purchased, that they are exact in ascertaining the wages that shall be paid to fosterers in proportion to the time that children continue under their care, and the instructions they have received: nor do they omit the prices which the several masters may demand from the appointments of a fosterer. And here they discover the secret of a complete Irish education; at least for those of the middle ranks of life. The youth in his state of fosterage, was not employed in a tedious and painful practice of various forms and measures of poetry, as we are sometimes told: the system of his education was more useful, and indeed more honourable. He was instructed in the management of cattle, in husbandry and tillage; in navigation, which the laws distinguish into the higher and lower, but without explaining the difference; and lastly, in the knowledge of letters, or reading, as the lowest part of education.

In a word, it appears from all their legal institutions yet discovered, that the Irish, in their state of greatest composure, were indeed by no means barbarous, but far from that perfect civility which their enthusiastic admirers sometimes describe as their peculiar characteristic. They cultivated those arts of peace which subsist among a people strangers to extensive commerce, or the refinements of an opulent and luxurious age. Rights were accurately defined in their societies, and the people might have been impressed with an habitual love of justice; but their sense of injuries was, in proportion, lively; and their passions irritable. Redress, in many cases, was only to be obtained by force; and to force they perpetually recurred. Their boasted triennial assemblies do not appear to have ever served the purpose of a strict and peaceable connection between the different inhabitants of a country, which for many ages had full leisure for improvement. The influence of their monarchs was weak; their power neglected, controuled, and resisted. The provinces, and even the

the inferior septa into which the island was parcelled, lived in a kind of federal union with each other; which the pride, the injustice, the ambition, the avarice, the revenge of different chieftains were ever ready to interrupt. Their histories record the effects of these dangerous passions: the virtues of private life are not generally the subject of history.

Both the males and the females of the ancient Irish, were generally tall, well made, and of a strong and hardy constitution; very patient of cold and hunger, revengeful, proud and slothful. Their dress, which was as simple as their manners, was the produce and manufacture of their own country. The men wore a mantle and trowsers; the women a mantle and petticoat. Both had brogues upon their feet, thicker than pumps, and sewed with leather. The men had a cappeen and the women a kircher upon their heads, throwing their mantles over them when they went out, to keep off the sun or rain. At this period, linen-cloth was so extensive a manufacture in Ireland, "that the native Irish gentry used to wear thirty "or forty ells in a shirt, all gathered and wrinkled, and "coloured with saffron, because they never put them off till "they were worn out*." The dress of the great was much the same as that of the lower rank, allowing for the fineness of the texture, and the number of the colours. Indeed it was the number of them in any garment which properly distinguished the rank of the wearer; and those entitled to six were next in honour to the supreme monarch. This law did more, it is said, towards gaining esteem and respect than all the golden trappings of the East, and yet cost nothing. Besides it produced a noble emulation among men of letters; who, on proving themselves thoroughly skilled in the learning and philosophy of the country, received the vesture allotted for the provincial sovereigns, and consequently were next to them in honour. The education of their youth was begun in their early infancy, by taking them from habits of idleness and training them up to laborious exercises of body, at the same time that their minds were not left uncultivated. The pleasures of the chase superseded at stated times all other diversions, and no people in the world pursued them with greater eagerness. In this exercise they underwent inexpressible fatigues; which contributed greatly to their muscular strength, and gave them agility and firmness against the severity of the weather. In short the chase was such a school for teaching them vigilance, a skill in archery, patience under labour, and long abstinence from food, that few foreign enemies could stand before them.

It is probable that the first and most ancient manner of burying their dead was that of burning; as we may learn from an old canon after their conversion to Christianity, in which it said, that "kings only were buried in churches, and that all other men were either buried in the fire, or under an heap of stones; that no stranger shall have liberty of cutting the church, that is, making a grave in it, without the leave of the prince; and whosoever shall attempt to do so, shall give satisfaction according to the dignity of the place." Besides the custom of burning, we may conclude from this canon, as well as from other circumstances of their antiquities, another custom in burying their dead, which was under an heap of stones. There are many remains of this custom in several parts of the island; and we know it was an ancient practice in many other countries, for men that had been eminent either for virtues, or notorious for villanies. An instance of the latter kind we find as early as amongst the children of Israel, when they buried *Achan*; of whom it is said, "that they raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day." Many bones and arms have been discovered under these heaps in several parts of Ireland; and it is not improbable, that the custom may have been derived from the Jews, who were commanded to put to death their vilest malefactors, by stoning, or heaping stones upon them. But however it had its origin, the custom is to this day still retained among the common native Irish. For as they carry a corpse to the grave, they set it down in a convenient place, and all the people who accompany it bring stones and raise an heap over it after it is interred. It was usual for the women (and is so still) to howl and clap their hands at the funeral of their friends; and sometimes they were hired for this purpose, when they thought there was not a sufficient number. The Scythians from whom they sprung, and even the Romans and Germans had the same custom; and the expression of a celebrated Roman historian on this subject is, "that in women it is commendable to lament, in men to remember *."

These are the outlines of the manners of the ancient Irish; let us now turn to those of the present. According to the author of the Political Anatomy of Ireland †, "they may be deduced from their original constitution of body, from the air, from their ordinary food, from their state and condition, from the influence of their teachers, and lastly from their ancient customs which affect as well their consciences as their nature." In their stature, shape, and complexion, they have not degenerated from their ancestors,

* Tacitus.

† Sir William Petty.

and are not inferior to any other people. In their courage and intrepidity also, it is well known that they do not disgrace their origin. Above three parts in four of the mere Irish live in little huts or cabins, without chimnies, doors, or windows. Their principal diet is potatoes, and sweet milk, as well as sour, which in summer is also their drink. In winter they drink water, and whisky, when they can get it. But tobacco and snuff seem to be the great pleasure of their lives; inasmuch that the chief part of their expence is to procure them. Notwithstanding the great plenty of flesh, they seldom eat any, unless it be of the smaller animals; and they are yet so far from being civilized, especially in villages distant from cities, and where the English manners have not prevailed, that their habitations, furniture, and apparel are as sordid as those of the savages in America.

Whether the laziness which is attributed to them be derived from their ancestors, or from their original constitution, it is hard to say: but it is certain that there is still among the native Irish, a very strong and remarkable antipathy to all labour; and that most of them possess a cynical content in dirt and beggary, to a degree beyond any other people in Christendom. The cabin of an Irish peasant is the cave of poverty: within you see a pot and a little straw, and without a heap of children almost naked tumbling on the dunghill. Their fields and gardens are a lively counterpart of *Solomon's* description of the field of the slothful, and of the vineyard of the man void of understanding. In every road the ragged ensigns of poverty are displayed: the traveller often meets caravans of these miserable wretches, whole families in a drove, without clothes to cover, or bread to feed them; both which might be procured with moderate labour. But the work of one man in the field will sustain a family of forty with potatoes; and they build a hut or cabin in three days. The milk of one cow will afford food and drink enough for three men in the summer; and they can get cockles, oysters, muscles, and crabs, almost every where near the sea in great abundance. What occasion have they therefore, to labour hard, who can content themselves with this wretchedness? Besides they have been taught, and they teach it one another, that this way of living is more like the patriarchs, their ancestors of old, and their saints of later times, by whose prayers and merits they are to be relieved, and whose examples they are therefore to follow. But if such are the manners of the lowest sort, yet the Irish gentry, who approve themselves to be the descendants of a free and learned nation, in their diet, houses, and apparel, resemble the English. Their behaviour is polite, their table elegant, and their hospitality more extensive and general than that of their neighbours.

C H A P. XIV.

WALES.

*Ancient history of this country.—Division of it by Roderic—
A colony of Flemings settle in it.—Llewellyn submits to Ed-
ward I.—The Welsh revolt, and are again subdued.—
Massacre of the Welch Bards.—Mountainous and roman-
tic situation of Wales.—Antiquities.—Literature.*

THE ancient history of Wales is uncertain, on account of the number of petty princes who governed it. That they were sovereign and independent, appears from the English history. It was formerly inhabited by the three different tribes of Britons, the *Silures*, the *Dimetæ*, and the *Ordovices*. These people made such violent opposition to the Romans, that they do not appear ever to have been entirely subdued; though part of their country, as appears from the ruins of castles, was bridled by garrisons. Though the Saxons conquered the counties of Monmouth and Hereford, yet they never penetrated farther; and the Welch remained an independent people, governed by their own princes and their own laws. Roderic, king of Wales, divided
A. D. 870. his dominions among his three sons; and the names of these divisions were Demetia, or South Wales; Poresia, or Powis-land; and Venedolia, or North Wales. This division gave a mortal blow to the independency of Wales. About the year 1112, Henry I. of England planted a colony of Flemings on the frontiers of Wales, to serve as a barrier to England; none of the Welsh princes being powerful enough to oppose them. They made, however, many brave attempts to maintain their liberties against the Norman kings of England. The crown of England was first supplied with a handle for the future conquest of Wales; their old and infirm prince
A. D. 1237. Llewellyn, in order to be safe from the persecutions of his undutiful son Griffin, having put himself under subjection and homage to king Henry III.

But no capitulation could satisfy the ambition of Edward I. who resolved to annex Wales to the crown of England; and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, disdainful of the subjection to which old Llewellyn had submitted, Edward raised an army at great expence. The Welch prince had no resource against the superior force of Edward but the inaccessible situation of his mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers against all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors. He accordingly retired with the bravest

bravest of his subjects among the hills of Snowdon. But Edward, no less vigorous than cautious, pierced into the heart of the country, and approached the Welch army in its last retreat. Having carefully secured every pass behind him, he avoided putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independency. He trusted to the more slow but sure effects of famine for success; and Llewellyn was at length obliged to submit, and received the terms imposed upon him by the English monarch *.

These terms, though sufficiently severe, were but ill observed by the victors. The English oppressed and insulted the inhabitants of the districts which were yielded to them. The indignation of the Welch was roused: they flew to arms; and Edward again entered Wales with an army, not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final. This army he committed to the command of Roger Mortimer, while he himself waited the event in the castle of Rudhlan, and Llewellyn, having ventured to leave his fastnesses, was defeated by Mortimer and slain, together with two thousand of his followers. All the A. D. 1283, Welch nobility submitted to Edward, and the laws of England were established in that principality †.

In order to preserve his conquest, Edward had recourse to a barbarous policy. He ordered David, brother to Llewellyn, and his successor in the principality of Wales, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for taking arms in defence of his native country, which he had once unhappily deserted, and for maintaining by force his own hereditary authority. He also ordered all A. D. 1284, the Welch bards to be collected together and put to death; from a belief, and no absurd one, that he should more easily subdue the independent spirit of the people, when their minds ceased to be roused by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preserved in the traditional poems of these minstrels, and recited or sung by them on all public occasions and days of festivity ‡.

Perceiving that his cruelty was not sufficient to complete his conquest, Edward sent his queen to be delivered in Caernarvon castle, that the Welch, having a prince born among themselves, might the more readily recognise his authority. This prince was the unhappy Edward II. and from him the title of Prince of Wales ever since descended to the eldest sons of the English kings. The history of Wales and England became thenceforth the same. It is proper, however, to ob-

* T. Wykes.

† Sir J. Wynne.

‡ Warrington's History of Wales.

serve, that the kings of England have always found it their interest to soothe the Welch with particular marks of their regard. Their eldest sons not only held the titular dignity, but actually kept a court at Ludlow; and a regular council, with a president, was named by the crown, for the administration of all the affairs of the principality. This was thought so necessary a piece of policy, that when Henry VIII. had no son, his daughter Mary was created princess of Wales.

The mountains in Wales are very numerous. *Snowdon*, in *Caernarvonshire*, and *Plinlimmon*, which lies partly in *Montgomery* and partly in *Cardiganshire*, are the most famous; and their mountainous situation greatly assisted the natives in making so noble and long a struggle against the Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman powers. "During our abode amid those superb mountains," says an elegant writer, "neither sun nor stars appeared to our sight for several days; and, wrapt up in an impenetrable mist, we were perpetually enveloped with a twilight obscurity. Our situation was like a scene of enchantment, impressing a superstitious extasy on our senses, while we contemplated the sublime operations of nature around us. But on our emerging from these romantic visions, the first view of the cheerful rays of the long absent sun, gave an inexpressible refreshment to our spirits: it saluted our immediate approach to the vale of *Caernarvon*. We changed the climate in an instant: we breathed a freer air. Here I sensibly felt the force of an expression in the whimsical life of *Benvenuto Cellini*, which directly occurred to my memory. He had been long imprisoned, in a dark subterraneous dungeon, in the castle of *St. Angelo* at *Rome*. He bore with fortitude his miserable destiny, and would have been even easy with it, if a single beam of light had been permitted to enter his melancholy den: in vain he prayed for a momentary view of the sun; his cruel guard denied him that common privilege. At length a dream represents the glorious luminary to his sight, when, in a transport, he exclaims—O brilliant orb! whom I have so long ardently languished to behold! Henceforth let me gaze on thy brightness for ever, though blindness be the consequence!"

Wales contains no cities or towns that are remarkable either for populousness or magnificence. *Beaumaris* is the chief town of *Anglesey*, and has a good harbour. *Brecknock* trades in cloathing. *Cardigan* is a large populous town, and

* Lord Lyttelton.

lies in the neighbourhood of lead and silver mines. Caermarthen has a large bridge, and is governed by a mayor, two sheriffs, and aldermen, who wear scarlet gowns, and other ensigns of state. Pembroke is well inhabited by gentlemen and tradesmen; and part of the country is so fertile and pleasant, that it is called *Little England*.—The view of Pembroke and its castle, from the river, is very grand. The town is situated upon the ridge of a long and narrow rock, gradually ascending to the highest point, on which stands the castle, at the edge of the precipice. If we may be allowed to compare small things with great, it resembles much the situation of Edinburgh.

There is a particularity in the dress of the Pembrokeshire women, which, because it differs from the rest of the Welch, says the same author, I shall here describe. “The women even in the midst of summer, generally wear a heavy cloth gown; and instead of a cap, a large handkerchief wrapt over their heads, and tied under their chins. On first seeing this fantastic head-dress, I really imagined that there was an epidemical swelling or tooth-ache in the country. It is possible that this fashion might originate from Flanders, as Pembrokeshire was formerly settled by Flemings. In that low country, this head-dress might have been thought a necessary preservation against the damps, and a national prejudice may have continued it in Wales, for more than six centuries. This custom is certainly peculiar to Pembrokeshire; for in the other parts of Wales, the women, as well as the men, wear large beaver hats, with broad brims, flapping over their shoulders.”

Wales abounds in remains of antiquity. Several of its castles are stupendously large; and in some the remains of Roman architecture are plainly discernible. The architecture of others is doubtful; and some appear to be partly British, and partly Roman. In Brecknockshire are some rude sculptures, upon a stone six feet high, called the Maiden-Stone; but the remains of the Druidical institutions, and places of worship, are chiefly discernible in the isle of Anglesey, the ancient Mona, mentioned by Tacitus, who describes it as being the chief seminary of the Druidical rites and religion. To give a description of the Roman altars, antiquities, and utensils, which have been discovered in Wales, would be endless; but antiquaries, perhaps, may yet make great discoveries from them.

The large and well built town of Holywell, is so called from the famous spring of St. Winifred. This spring is so strong, that it actually flows at least a tun of water in a minute, which has been experimentally proved. But the whole legend of the saint is a mere modern invention; for
Giraldus,

Giraldus, who never neglected an opportunity of celebrating Welch miracles, is entirely silent on this head, though he lodged one night at Basingwerk, within a mile of Holywell. The countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry the Seventh, founded the elegant little cloyster which covers the well; and over it a chapel, which is now used as a public school. The well is still in some estimation, particularly among the catholics, for the salubrity of its spring; and not without reason, if we may credit the numerous trophies of hand-barrows, and crutches, which adorn the roof; and which have been left at different times by pious patients, whose faith contributed undoubtedly not a little towards making them whole.

The bishop of St. David's palace, which was founded in the reign of Edward III. is now an immense ruin; several of the apartments are uncommonly large, the walls of which are still entire. The whole parapet is Gothic, and open in arches like that at Swansea, a circumstance peculiar to these two remains of antiquity. The nave of the cathedral was built in the reign of king John; the circular arches of it are remarkably wide: but the other parts of the church have been the production of different ages, as the variety of architecture plainly demonstrates. Bishop Vaughan's chapel was annexed to it in the time of Henry VIII. and has a light elegant roof of stone, quite perfect. There are several ancient monuments, both within the church, and among the ruined chapels without. Edmund, earl of Richmond, father of Henry VII. lies under a raised tomb, near the middle of the choir, and at a little distance from it, is the monument of Owen Tudor. The graves are raised within the cathedral, in the same manner as in common church-yards. Some little fee, perhaps, is due to the church, for burying within the walls of the cathedral, which is readily paid by the Cambrians, for the honour of laying their bones under the same roof with Owen Tudor.

There is something simple and pleasing in the idea of strewing flowers and ever-greens over the grave of a departed friend, which is the custom in many parts of Wales.

- " With fairest flow'rs, whilst summer lasts,
- " I'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack
- " The flow'r that's like thy face, pale primrose; nor
- " The azur'd hare-bell, like thy veins; no, nor
- " The leaf of Eglantine; which, not to slander,
- " Out-sweeten'd not thy breath*.

SHAKESPEARE's *Cymbeline*.

The

The river Dee is a noble object, as seen from the bridge at Llangollen; it rages furiously down the broad, shelving, solid rock, which is worn to a kind of glossy polish by the run of the water, and which forms the bed of the river for a considerable space. "On our arrival at the inn at Llangollen," says a late traveller, "we found it in the possession of some mourners who were just returned from the funeral of a friend; however some tolerable quarters remained for us. The dismal solemnity of these weeping countenances soon evaporated, and the sorrows and senses of the company were quickly drowned in large potations of ale. Such is the general conclusion of a Welsh meeting, whether it be merry or melancholy. I was here informed, that a burial was esteemed the most profitable function of a Welsh clergyman. The neighbours and relations of the deceased attend in large numbers at the funeral, and make considerable offerings to the officiating priest; for they are taught to believe that their respect to their friend's memory is in proportion to the oblations they give. Though the man who was here interred was but a common tradesman, yet the collection at the church amounted to more than five pounds. This custom is evidently derived from the ancient *mass money* collected for purgatory indulgencies; and it is fortunate for the clergy of Wales, whose income is generally moderate, that the superstition has suffered no reformation *."

Llantoney abbey, built in the form of a cross, is also a noble object. It was founded in the year 1137, and is a regular composition of Norman architecture mixed with Gothic †. It may justly be called regular, because all the understructure is Gothic, and the upper Norman, the arches below being all pointed, and those above circular; and because it was built upon one entire plan, and manifestly at one and the same time. The whole nave, the roof excepted, remains, from east to west; and is, by measurement, two hundred and twelve feet in length, and twenty-seven feet four inches in breadth.

The following elegant description of this abbey cannot fail to please every reader of taste. "In the deep vale of Fwyas, which is not more than a bowshot wide, stands, encircled with an amphitheatre of immense mountains, the church of St. John; it is covered with lead, and not inelegantly built, with an arched roof of stone. This spot is justly suited for religious exercises, and the most proper for canonical discipline of any other monastery in the British

* Tour through Wales.

† Speed.

* island.

" island. The church was first founded, solitary and remote
 " from all wordly noise, by two hermits, to the honour of a
 " monastic life, and is situated on the river Hodney, which
 " runs through the length of the vale. The cloistered monks
 " may view, from within their walls, the mountains rising
 " above them and almost touching heaven with their exalted
 " summits, and abounding with deer feeding aloft, at the ex-
 " tremity of the lofty horizon. The sun is never visible to
 " this gloomy recess, till between the afternoon hours of one
 " and three; and even then is rarely seen, except in the
 " clearest season *."

Wales was a *seat of learning at a very early period*; but it suffered an eclipse by the repeated massacres of the bards and clergy. The Welch and Scotch dispute about the nativity of certain learned men, particularly four of the name of Gildas. Giraldus Cambrensis, whose history was published by Camden, was certainly a Welchman; and Leland mentions several learned men of the same country, who flourished before the reformation. The discovery of the famous king Arthur's and his wife's burying-place was owing to some lines of Thalieffin, which were repeated before Henry II. of England, by a Welch bard. Since the reformation, Wales has produced several excellent antiquaries and divines. Rowland, the learned author of the *Mona Antiqua*, was a Welchman; as was that great statesman and prelate, the lord keeper Williams, archbishop of York, in the time of king Charles I. We have another instance of Welch erudition in the excellent history of Henry VIII. written by lord Herbert of Cherbury. Some of the Welch of the present day make a considerable figure in the republic of letters.

* Giraldus Cambrensis.

CHAP. XV.

BRITISH ISLES.

Man—Wight—Jersey—Guernsey—Scilly Islands—Shetland Isles—Orkney Isles—Hebrides—Antiquities—Singular Discovery made by Sir Joseph Banks—Second Sight—Dr. Johnson's Sentiments on that Subject.

THE Isle of *Man*, situated in St. George's Channel, is almost at an equal distance from the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Its length from north to south is rather more than thirty miles, its breadth from eight to fifteen. It contains seventeen parishes, and four towns on the sea coasts.

During the time of the Scandinavian rovers on the seas, this island was their rendezvous, and their chief force was here collected; from whence they annoyed the Hebrides, Great Britain, and Ireland. The kings of *Man* are often mentioned in history; and though we have no regular account of their succession, and know but a few of their names, yet they undoubtedly were for some ages masters of those seas. Alexander II. king of Scotland, A. D. 1263. a spirited prince, having defeated the Danes, laid claim to the superiority of *Man*, and obliged Owen, or John, its king, to acknowledge him as lord paramount. It seems to have continued, either tributary or in property of the kings of Scotland, till it was reduced by Edward I. and the kings of England, from that time, exercised the superiority over the island; though we find it still possessed by the posterity of its Danish princes, in the reign of Edward III. who dispossessed the last queen of the island, and bestowed it on his favourite, Montague, earl of Salisbury. His family honours and estate being forfeited, Henry IV. bestowed *Man*, and the patronage of the bishoprick, first upon the Northumberland family, and, that being forfeited, upon sir John Stanley, whose posterity, the earls of Derby, enjoyed till, by failure of male heirs, it devolved upon the duke of Athol, who married the sister of the last lord Derby. Reasons of state rendered it necessary for the crown of Great Britain to purchase the customs and the island from the Athol family; and the bargain was completed by 70,000*l.* being paid to the duke. The duke, A. D. 1765. however, retains his territorial property in the island, though the form of his government is altered; and

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the king has now the same rights, powers, and prerogatives, as the duke formerly enjoyed. The inhabitants also retain many of their ancient constitutions and customs.

This island affords some curiosities which may amuse an antiquary. They consist chiefly of Runic sepulchral inscriptions and monuments, of ancient brass daggers, and other weapons of that metal, adorned with pure gold; which indicates the splendor of its ancient possessors. The *language*, which is called the Manks, and is spoken by the common people, is radically Erse, or Irish, but with a mixture of other languages.

The *Isle of Wight* is opposite to the coast of Hampshire, from which it is separated by a channel, varying in breadth from two to seven miles; it is considered as part of the county of Southampton, and is within the diocese of Winchester. Its greatest length, extending from east to west, measures nearly twenty-three miles; its breadth from north to south about thirteen. The air is in general healthy, particularly the southern parts; the soil is various, but so great is its fertility, that more wheat grows here in one year, than can be consumed by the inhabitants in eight. The interior parts of the island, as well as its extremities, afford a great number of beautiful and picturesque prospects, not only in the pastoral, but also in the great and romantic style. Of these beauties, the gentlemen of the island have availed themselves, as well in the choice of situation of the houses, as in their other improvements. Such is the purity of the air, the fertility of the soil, and the beauty and variety of the landscapes of this island, that it has been called the garden of England, and it is often visited by parties of pleasure on account of its delightful scenes. It contains about twenty thousand inhabitants. The three principal streets of Newport, the capital, extend from east to west, and are crossed at right angles by three others, all which are spacious, clean, and well paved. Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, has been rendered remarkable by the confinement of king Charles the First who, taking refuge here, was detained a prisoner for thirteen months.

Jersey, *Guernsey*, and *Alderney*, situated in the English channel, though much nearer to the coast of Normandy than to that of England, are within the diocese of Winchester.

Jersey, anciently *Cæsarea*, was known to the Romans, and is remarkable for its fine honey. The island is not above twelve miles in length; but the air is so salubrious, that a celebrated writer * says there was no business in it for

a physician, in his time. The property of this island belonged formerly to the Carterets, a Norman family, who have been always attached to the royal interest, and gave protection to Charles II. both when king and prince of Wales, at a time when no part of the British dominions durst recognise him. The language of the inhabitants is French, with which most of them intermingle English words; yet French is most generally the language of the pulpit and the bar. The governor is appointed by the crown of England, but the civil administration rests with a bailiff, assisted by twelve jurats. As this island is the principal remain of the duchy of Normandy depending on the kings of England, it preserves the old feudal forms, and particularly the assembly of states, which forms a miniature of the British parliament, as settled in the time of Edward I.

Guernsey is likewise part of the ancient Norman patrimony. Though this be naturally a finer island than that of Jersey, yet it is far less valuable, being poorly cultivated and thinly inhabited.—*Alderney* is separated from Normandy by a narrow strait, called the *Race* of Alderney, which is a dangerous passage in stormy weather, when the two currents meet. To the west lie a range of rocks for near three leagues together called the *Caskets*; among which are several whirlpools or eddies, very dreadful to mariners. The sons of king Henry I. were cast away and drowned here, passing to Normandy. This strait also proved fatal to the *Victory* man of war, commanded by admiral *Blacken*.

The *Scilly Islands* and *Rocks*, anciently called the *Silures*, are a cluster of dangerous rocks to the number of one hundred and forty, lying about thirty miles from the *Land's End* in *Cornwall*, of which county they are reckoned a part, and to which they are supposed to have been formerly joined, but separated from it and from each other, by some violent eruption of the sea, which is here between forty and sixty fathoms. *Scilly*, which gives name to all the rest, was once the chief; but *St. Mary's Island*, though only nine miles in circumference, is the largest, as well as the most fruitful, and has a very good harbour, fortified with a castle, which was built by queen Elizabeth. *St. Mary's* contains more inhabitants than all the rest put together, and who are also the richest. In this, and in two or three others of the largest islands, there are various antiquities, particularly the remains of a temple of the Druids, and ancient sepulchres. But the greatest ornament of this island is the light-house, in height fifty-one feet, and the gallery four. The sash lights are eleven feet three inches high, by three feet two inches broad; it stands on high land, and makes a very fine appearance. By their situ-

ation, between the English channel and St. George's channel, they have been the destruction of many ships and lives.

The islands belonging to Scotland, are those of *Shetland*, *Orkney*, and the *Hebrides*, or *Western Isles*. The largest of the Shetland isles, which are forty-six in number, is *Mainland*, whose length is sixty miles, and its breadth twenty. The largest of the Orkney isles, or *Orcades*, which are about thirty in number, is called *Pomona*. Its length is thirty-three miles, and its breadth, in some places, nine.—The islands of Shetland and Orkney were formerly subject to the Normans, who conquered them in 1099, a few years after they landed in England under William the Conqueror. In the year 1263 they were in possession of Magnus of Norway, who sold them to Alexander king of Scots, and he gave them as fiefs to a nobleman of the name of Speire. After this, they became subject to the crown of Denmark. Christian I. in the reign of James III. conveyed them in property to the crown of Scotland, as a marriage portion with his daughter Margaret; and all future pretensions were entirely ceded on the marriage of James VI. of Scotland with Anne of Denmark. The isles of Shetland and Orkney form a stewartry, or shire, which sends a member to parliament. At present the people in general differ little from the Lowlanders of Scotland; only, perhaps, their manners are more simple, and their minds less cultivated. Men of fortune have improved their estates wonderfully of late years; and have introduced into their families many elegancies and luxuries. They build their dwellings, and other houses, in a modern taste; and are remarkable for the fineness of their linen.

The *Hebrides*, or Western isles, are numerous, and some of them large. The isle of *Mull*, in the Hebrides, is twenty-four miles long, and, in some places, almost as broad. The other principal islands are *Lewis* or *Herries*, *Sky*, *Bute*, *Ila*, *Jura*, *St. Kilda*, and *Iona*. The isle of *Sky*, belonging to the shire of Inverness, is forty miles long, and, in some places, thirty broad, fruitful and well peopled. *Bute*, is famous for containing the castle of *Rothsay*, which gave the title of duke to the eldest sons of the kings of Scotland; as it now does to the prince of Wales. *Iona*, once the seat and sanctuary of western learning, and the burying place of many kings of Scotland, Ireland, and Norway, is still famous for its reliques of sanctimonious antiquity. Innumerable inscriptions, referring to ancient customs and ceremonies, are discernible in this island; which gives countenance to the well known observation, that when learning was nearly extinct on

the continent of Europe, it found a refuge in Scotland, or rather in these islands *.

The inhabitants, still preserve the most profound respect and affection for their several chieftains, notwithstanding all the pains that have been taken by the British legislature to break those connections. The common people are but little better lodged than the Norwegians and Laplanders; though they certainly fare better, for they have oatmeal, plenty of fish and fowl, cheese, butter-milk, and whey; and also mutton, beef, goat, kid and venison. They indulge themselves, like their fore-fathers, in a romantic poetical turn, and the agility of both sexes, in the exercises of the field, and in dancing to their favourite music, is remarkable.

"A man of the Hebrides," says Dr. Johnson, "as soon as he appears in the morning swallows a glass of whisky; yet they are not a drunken race, at least I never was present at much intemperance; but no man is so abstemious as to refuse the morning dram, which they call a skalk. The word whisky signifies water, and is applied by way of eminence to strong water, or distilled liquor. The spirit drank in the North is drawn from barley. I never tasted it except once for experiment at the inn in Inverary, when I thought it preferable to any English malt brandy. It was strong, but not pungent, and was free from the empyreumatic taste or smell. What was the process I had no opportunity of inquiring, nor do I wish to improve the art of making poison pleasant.

"Not long after the dram may be expected the breakfast, a meal in which the Scots, whether of the lowlands or mountains, must be confessed to excel us. The tea and coffee are accompanied not only with butter, but with honey, conserves and marmalades. If an epicure could remove by a wish, in quest of sensual gratifications, wherever he had supped he would breakfast in Scotland.

"A dinner in the Western islands differs very little from a dinner in England, except that in the place of tarts, there are always set different preparations of milk. This part of their diet will admit some improvement. Though they have milk, and eggs, and sugar, few of them know how to compound them in a custard. Their gardens afford them no great variety, but they have always some vegetables on the table. Potatoes at least are never wanting, which, though they have not known them long, are now one of the principal parts of their food. They are not of the mealy, but the viscous kind. Their more elaborate cook-

* Pennant.

"ery, or made dishes, an Englishman at the first taste is not
 "likely to approve, but the culinary compositions of every
 "country are often such as become grateful to other nations
 "only by degrees; though I have read a French author
 "who, in the elation of his heart, says, that French cookery
 "pleases all foreigners, but foreign cookery never satisfies a
 "Frenchman.

"Their suppers are, like their dinners, various and plentiful. The table is always covered with elegant linen.
 "They use silver plates on all occasions where it is common
 "in England, nor did I ever find the spoon of horn, but in
 "one house. The knives are not often either very bright
 "or very sharp. They are indeed instruments of which the
 "highlanders have not been long acquainted with the general use. They were not regularly laid on the table, before
 "the prohibition of arms, and the change of dress. Thirty
 "years ago the highlander wore his knife as a companion to
 "his dirk or dagger, and when the company sat down to
 "meat, the men who had knives, cut the flesh into small
 "pieces for the women, who with their fingers conveyed it
 "to their mouths.

"In the islands the plaid is rarely worn. The law by
 "which the Highlanders have been obliged to change the
 "form of their dress, has, in all the places that we have visited, been universally obeyed. I have seen only one gentleman completely clothed in the ancient habit, and by
 "him it was worn only occasionally and wantonly. The
 "common people do not think themselves under any legal
 "necessity of having coats; for they say that the law against
 "plaids was made by lord *Hardwicke*, and was in force
 "only for his life: but the same poverty that made it then
 "difficult for them to change their clothing, hinders them
 "now from changing it again. The fillibeg, or lower garment, is still very common, and the bonnet almost universal; but their attire is such as produces, in a sufficient degree, the effect intended by the law, of abolishing the dissimilitude of appearance between the Highlanders and the
 "other inhabitants of Britain; and, if dress be supposed to
 "have much influence, facilitates their coalition with their
 "fellow subjects.

"What we have long used we naturally like, and therefore the Highlanders were unwilling to lay aside their
 "plaid, which yet to an unprejudiced spectator must appear
 "an incommodious and cumbersome dress; for hanging
 "loose upon the body, it must flutter in a quick motion, or
 "require one of the hands to keep it close. The Romans
 "always laid aside the gown when they had any thing to do.

"It

“It was a dress so unsuitable to war, that the same word that signified a gown signified peace. The chief use of a plaid seems to be this, that they could commodiously wrap themselves in it, when they were obliged to sleep without a better cover*.”

In the Hebrides, there are many vestiges of Druidical temples, some of which must have required equal labour with the famous Stonehenge near Salisbury. Others seem to be memorials of particular persons, or actions, consisting of one large stone, standing upright: some have been sculptured, and others have served as sepulchres, and are composed of stones cemented together. Burrows, as they are called in England, are frequent in these islands; and the monuments of Danish and Norwegian fortifications might long employ an able antiquary to describe. The gigantic bones found in many burial-places here give room to believe, that the former inhabitants were of larger size than the present.

Some of the most astonishing appearances in nature have remained undescribed, and, till lately, unobserved, even by the natives. One singular discovery, in particular, was reserved for the inquisitive genius of an English naturalist†. “In the island of Staffa,” says he, “we were struck with a scene of magnificence which exceeded our expectations. One of the sides of that island, a mile in length and half a mile in breadth, is supported by ranges of natural pillars, mostly above fifty feet high, standing in colonnades upon a firm basis of rock; above these the stratum which reaches to the soil or surface of the island, varied in thickness as the island itself formed into hills or vallies; each hill, which hung over the columns below, composed an ample pediment; sometimes sixty feet in thickness from the base to the point, and formed, by the sloping of the hill on each side, almost into the shape of those used in architecture. Compared to this, what are the cathedrals or palaces built by men? mere models or play-things. Imitations as diminutive, as his works will always be, when compared to those of nature. Where is now the boast of the architect? regularity, the only part in which he fancied himself to exceed his mistress nature, is here found in perfection.” Sir Joseph particularises sundry other appearances in this, and a neighbouring island, which is wholly composed of pillars without any stratum. In some parts of Staffa, instead of being placed upright, the pillars were observed to lie on their sides, each forming a segment of a circle; but the most striking object in this picturesque scene is *Fingal's Cave*, which

* Journey to the Western Islands.

† Sir Joseph Banks.

he describes in the following manner :---“ With our minds
 “ full of such reflections, we proceeded along the shore,
 “ treading upon another *Giant's Causeway*, every stone being
 “ regularly formed into a certain number of sides and angles;
 “ till, in a short time, we arrived at the mouth of a cave,
 “ the most magnificent, I suppose, that has ever been de-
 “ scribed by travellers. The mind can hardly form an idea
 “ more magnificent than a space, supported on each side by
 “ ranges of columns, and roofed by the bottoms of those
 “ which have been broken off in order to form it; between
 “ the angles of which, a yellow stalagmitic matter has exuded,
 “ which serves to define the angles precisely, and at the same
 “ time vary the colour, with a great deal of elegance; and
 “ to render it still more agreeable, the whole is lighted from
 “ without; so that the farthest extremity is very plainly seen
 “ from without; and the air within being agitated by the
 “ flux and reflux of the tide is perfectly dry and wholesome,
 “ free entirely from the damp and vapours with which natu-
 “ ral caverns in general abound.”

A very remarkable gift of prophecy distinguishes the inhabitants of the Hebrides, under the name of the *second sight*. It would be equally absurd to attempt to disprove the reality of some instances of this kind that have been brought by reputable authors, and to admit all that has been said upon the subject. The adepts of the second sight pretend that they have certain revelations, or rather presentations, either really or typically, which swim before their eyes, of certain events that are to happen in the compass of twenty-four or forty-eight hours. But, from the best information, no two of those adepts agree as to the manner and forms of these revelations, or that they have any fixed method for interpreting their typical appearances. The truth seems to be, that those islanders, by indulging themselves in lazy habits, acquire visionary ideas, and overheat their imaginations, till they are presented with those phantasms, which they mistake for fatidical or prophetic manifestations. They instantly begin to prophesy; and it would be absurd to suppose, that amidst many thousands of predictions, some did not happen to be fulfilled; and these, being well attested, gave a sanction to the whole.

The sentiments of a late learned writer * on this subject are as follow. “ We should have had little claim to the
 “ praise of curiosity, if we had not endeavoured with parti-
 “ cular attention to examine the question of the Second Sight.
 “ Of an opinion received for centuries by a whole nation,

* Dr. Johnson.

" and supposed to be confirmed through its whole descent,
 " by a series of successive facts, it is desirable that the truth
 " should be established, or the fallacy detected. The Second
 " Sight is an impression made either by the mind upon the
 " eye, or by the eye upon the mind, by which things distant
 " or future are perceived, and seen as if they were present.
 " A man on a journey far from home falls from his horse, an-
 " other, who is perhaps at work about the house, sees him
 " bleeding on the ground, commonly with a landscape of the
 " place where the accident befalls him. Another seer, driv-
 " ing home his cattle, or wandering in idleness, or musing
 " in the sunshine, is suddenly surprised by the appearance of
 " a bridal ceremony, or funeral procession, and counts the
 " mourners or attendants; of whom, if he knows them, he
 " relates the names, if he knows them not, he can describe
 " the dresses. Things distant are seen when they happen.
 " Of things future I know not that there is any rule for de-
 " termining the time between the sight and the event.

" This receptive faculty, for power it cannot be called, is
 " neither voluntary nor constant. The appearances have no
 " dependence upon choice: they cannot be summoned, de-
 " tained, or recalled. The impression is sudden, and the ef-
 " fect often painful.

" By the term Second Sight, seems to be meant a mode of
 " seeing, superadded to that which Nature generally bestows.
 " In the earse it is called *Taisch*; which signifies likewise a
 " spectre, or a vision. I know not, nor is it likely that the
 " Highlanders ever examined, whether by *taisch*, used for
 " the second sight, they mean the power of seeing, or the
 " thing seen. I do not find it to be true, as it is reported,
 " that to the second sight nothing is presented but phantoms
 " of evil. Good seems to have the same proportion in those
 " visionary scenes, as it obtains in real life: almost all re-
 " markable events have evil for their basis; and are either
 " miseries incurred, or miseries escaped. Our sense is so
 " much stronger of what we suffer, than of what we enjoy,
 " that the ideas of pain predominate in almost every mind.
 " What is recollection but a revival of vexations, or history
 " but a record of wars, treasons, and calamities? Death,
 " which is considered as the greatest evil, happens to all.
 " The greatest good, be it what it will, is the lot but of a
 " part. That they should often see death is to be expected;
 " because death is an event frequent and important. But
 " they see likewise more pleasing incidents. A gentleman
 " told me, that when he had once gone far from his own
 " island, one of his labouring servants predicted his return,
 " and described the livery of his attendant, which he had
 " never

“ never worn at home; and which had been, without any previous design, occasionally given him.

“ It is the common talk of the lowland Scots, that the notion of the second sight is wearing away with other superstitious. How far its prevalence ever extended, or what ground it has lost, I know not. The islanders of all degrees, whether of rank or understanding, universally admit it, except the ministers, who universally deny it, and are suspected to deny it, in consequence of a system, against conviction. One of them honestly told me, that he came to Sky with a resolution not to believe it.—By pretensions to second sight, no profit was ever sought or gained. It is an involuntary affection, in which neither hope nor fear are known to have any part. Those who profess to feel it, do not boast of it as a privilege, nor are considered by others as advantageously distinguished. They have no temptation to feign; and their hearers have no motive to encourage the imposture.”

Nothing can be mentioned as to the population of the Scottish isles. We have the most undoubted evidences of history, that about 400 years ago they were much more populous than they are now: for the Hebrides themselves were often known to send ten thousand fighting men into the field, without prejudice to their agriculture. At present, their numbers are said not to exceed forty-eight thousand. The people of the Hebrides are clothed, and live like the Scotch highlanders. They are similar in persons, constitutions, customs, and prejudices; with this difference, that the more polished manners of the lowlanders are every day gaining ground in the highlands: perhaps the descendants of the ancient Caledonians, in a few years, will be discernible only in the Hebrides.

“ The inhabitants of Sky,” says Dr. Johnson, “ and of the other islands, which I have seen, are commonly of the middle stature, with fewer among them very tall or very short, than are seen in England; or perhaps, as their numbers are small, the chances of any deviation from the common measure are necessarily very few. The tallest men that I saw are among those of higher rank. In regions of barrenness and scarcity, the human race is hindered in its growth by the same causes as other animals. The ladies have as much beauty here as in other places, but bloom and softness are not to be expected among the lower classes, whose faces are exposed to the rudeness of the climate, and whose features are sometimes contracted by want, and sometimes hardened by the blasts. Supreme beauty is seldom found in cottages or workshops, even where no
“ real

“ real hardships are suffered. To expand the human face
“ to its full perfection, it seems necessary that the mind
“ should co-operate by placidness of content, or consciousness
“ of superiority. Their strength is proportionate to
“ their size, but they are accustomed to run upon rough
“ ground, and therefore can with great agility skip over the
“ bog, or clamber the mountain. For a campaign in the
“ wastes of America, soldiers better qualified could not have
“ been found. Having little work to do, they are not will-
“ ing, nor perhaps able to endure a long continuance of ma-
“ nual labour, and are therefore considered as habitually idle.

“ It is generally supposed, that life is longer in places
“ where there are few opportunities of luxury; but I found
“ no instance here of extraordinary longevity. A cottager
“ grows old over his oaten cakes, like a citizen at a turtle
“ feast. He is indeed seldom incommoded by corpulence.
“ Poverty preserves him from sinking under the burden
“ of himself, but he escapes no other injury of time. In-
“ stances of long life are often related, which those who hear
“ them are more willing to credit than examine. To be
“ told that any man has attained a hundred years, gives hope
“ and comfort to him who stands trembling on the brink of
“ his own climacterick. Length of life is distributed impar-
“ tially to very different modes of life in very different
“ climates; and the mountains have no greater examples of
“ age and health than the lowlands, where I was introduced
“ to two ladies of high quality, one of whom, in her ninety-
“ fourth year, presided at her table with the full exercise of
“ all her powers; and the other has attained her eighty-
“ fourth, without any diminution of her vivacity, and with
“ little reason to accuse time of depredations on her beauty.”

The isles of Scotland alone retain the ancient usages of the
Celts, as described by the oldest and best authors; with a
strong tincture of the feudal constitution. Their shanachies
or story-tellers supply the place of the ancient bards, so fa-
mous in history, and are the historians, or rather the genea-
logists, as well as poets, of the nation and family. The
chief is likewise attended, when he appears abroad, with his
musician, “ who is generally a bagpiper, and dressed in the
“ same manner as the English minstrels of former times, but
“ rather more sumptuously*.” Notwithstanding the con-
tempt into which that music is fallen, it is almost incredible
with what care and attention it was cultivated among these
islanders so late as the beginning of the present century.
They had regular colleges and professors, and the students
took degrees according to their proficiency.

* Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.

C H A P. XVI.

S W E D E N.

*Ancient Scandinavians—Margaret Waldemar—Christiern II.
—The celebrated Christina—Charles XII.—The famous
Revolution—Assassination of the late King—Linnaeus the
Naturalist.*

THE present kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, formed part of ancient Scandinavia. The rude and warlike inhabitants of this wild desert, known by the general name of Goths, seeking a milder climate, and lands more fertile than their forests and mountains, made frequent incursions on the continent, and at last became so formidable that they broke the Roman empire, and established powerful monarchies in Gaul, Spain, and Italy. The religion of the ancient Goths, or Scandinavians, if the wild opinion of savages can deserve that name, was like themselves, bloody and barbarous; but formed to inspire the most enthusiastic courage, and the most unremitted perseverance in toil*.

That part of Scandania, now called Sweden, is bounded by the Baltic on the south; by the Norwegian Lapland on the north; by Muscovy on the east; and on the west by the mountains of Norway. No authentic annals of its early inhabitants now remain. In the first periods of its history, we find it, like the other northern regions of Europe, parcelled into small independent states, which were governed by their respective general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king†.

There is no relying on what has been written concerning Sweden, till Christianity was introduced, about the middle of the ninth century. From this period to the year 1150, when King Eric IX. compelled the Finlanders to receive the Christian faith, and ordered the ancient laws and constitutions of the kingdom to be collected into one volume, under the title of King Eric's laws, nothing occurs in the Swedish history that merits a particular review. The chronology of this kingdom, which before was very doubtful, from this time is more certain.

Magnus Ladislaus appears to be the first king A. D. 1276. of Sweden who pursued a regular system to increase his authority; and with this view made

* Gibben.

† Universal History.

the augmentations of the revenues of the crown his particular care. This able prince succeeded in making himself independent of his people; but his successors, not maintaining their authority with equal ability, the kingdom was thrown into the greatest disorder, and continual revolutions succeeded till the union of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in the fourteenth century, under Margaret Waldemar, surnamed the Semiramis of the north.

Margaret was daughter of Waldemar III. king of Denmark. She had been married to Hacquin, king of Norway, and son of Magnus III. king of Sweden. On the death of her son Olaus, the last male heir of the three northern crowns, (which were, however, more elective than hereditary) she succeeded, by the consent of the states, to the Danish throne. She was elected Queen of Norway, which she had governed as regent; and the Swedes being oppressed by their king Albert, made Margaret a solemn tender of their crown. She marched to their assistance, expelled Albert, and assumed the reins of government. Thus A. D. 1394. possessed of these three kingdoms, she formed the grand political design of a perpetual union, which proved the source of those wars which raged in Sweden and Denmark upwards of a century. Under Eric, the successor of Margaret, the Swedes revolted, choosing their Grand Marshal, Charles Canutson, king. They however, returned to their allegiance under Christiern I. of Denmark. But they again revolted from the same prince; again renewed the union of Calamar, under John his successor; revolted a third time; and were finally subdued by the arms of Christiern II. who reduced them to the condition of a conquered people.

To secure himself on the throne of Sweden, Christiern II. commanded the senators and chief of the nobility to be massacred at Stockholm, on the 9th of A. D. 1520. November. This perhaps was one of the most tragical scenes in the history of the human race. Under the disguise of friendship, he had invited the senators and grandees to a sumptuous entertainment. In the unsuspecting hour of of conviviality, the hall was filled with armed men, and ninety-four persons of distinction were led from the palace to the scaffold erected before the door and there executed*.

From his tyrannical government the Swedes were delivered by the fortitude and zeal of Gustavus Vasa, a descendant of the ancient kings, and whose father had been put to death in the late massacre. This brave prince, to escape the fury of the tyrant, concealed himself among the mountains

of Delicaria. There, bewildered, destitute of every necessary, and ready to perish with hunger, he entered himself among the miners, and worked under ground for bread. He afterwards made himself known unto them at their annual feast, and exhorted them to assist him in recovering the liberties of their country. Animated with rage against their oppressors, they fled to arms. Gustavus gaining partisans in all corners of the kingdom, saw himself every where victorious. Every thing yielded to his valour and good fortune, and the regal dignity was conferred on him as the reward of his merit. This brave and patriot prince introduced and established by law the protestant religion, and made commerce and the arts flourish by his wise policy. The affairs of the kingdom being thus happily settled, the crown was declared to be hereditary.

Eric Vasa, his son and successor, proving a dissolute and cruel prince, was dethroned and imprisoned in 1568. He was succeeded by his brother John, who ventured to introduce a new liturgy, and attempted in vain to re-establish the catholic religion. He left the crown to his son Sigismund, who had been elected king of Poland. This prince, like his father, being a zealous catholic, endeavoured to restore popery, for which he was deposed, and his heirs excluded from the succession. His uncle, Charles IX. was raised to the sovereignty by the states. He had been chiefly instrumental in preserving their religious liberties. On his death, the sceptre passed to his son the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, whose reign is one of the most illustrious periods in the annals of this or any other kingdom. He subdued Ingria, Livonia, and Pomerania; but in the midst of all his victories over the ablest of the Austrian generals, he was unfortunately killed at the battle of Lutzen, near Leipzig.

His daughter, Christina, succeeded. She is not less memorable for her passion for literature, and generous patronage of learned men, than for her resignation of the crown. Her studies, by occupying too much of her attention, were injurious to her reputation as a queen. "I think I see the devil," said she, "when my secretary enters with his dis-patches *." In order to enable the queen to pursue her literary amusements, without disadvantage to the state, the senate of Sweden proposed, that she should marry her cousin, Charles Gustavus, prince Palatine of Deux Ponts, for whom she had been designed from her infancy. But although this prince appears to have been a favourite, and Christina's conduct proves that she was by no means insensible to the passion of

the sexes, like our Elizabeth, she did not chuse to give herself a master.

But the Swedes, among whom refinement had made little progress, but whose martial spirit was now at its height, and among whom policy was well understood, could not bear to see the daughter of the great Gustavus devote her time and her talents solely to the study of dead languages; to the disputes about vortexes, innate ideas, and other unavailing speculations; to a taste for medals, statues, pictures, and public spectacles, in contempt of the nobler cares of royalty. An universal discontent, therefore, arose, and Christina was again pressed to marry. The disgust occasioned by this importunity first suggested to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly signified her intention of resigning, in a letter to Charles Gustavus, and of surrendering her crown in full senate; but she was prevailed upon to reign for some time, on condition that she should be no more pressed to marry*. Finding it impossible, however, to reconcile her literary pursuits, or more properly her love of ease and her romantic turn of mind, with the duties of her station, Christina finally resigned her crown; A. D. 1654. and Charles Gustavus ascended the throne of Sweden, under the name of Charles X. After despoiling the palace of every thing curious or valuable, she left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbarism. She travelled through Germany in men's clothes; and having a design of fixing her residence at Rome, that she might have an opportunity of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, she embraced the catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly renounced Lutheranism at Inspruck. The catholics considered this conversion as a triumph, and the protestants were not a little mortified at the defection of so celebrated a woman; but both without reason; for the queen of Sweden, who had an equal contempt for the peculiarities of both religions, meant only to conform, in appearance, to the tenets of the people among whom she intended to live, in order to enjoy more agreeably the pleasures of social intercourse. Of this her letters afford sufficient evidence, to silence the cavillers of either party.

But Christina, like most sovereigns who have quitted a throne, in order to escape from the cares of royalty, found herself no less uneasy in private life: so true it is that happiness depends on the mind, not on the condition. She soon discovered, that a queen without power was a very insignificant character in Italy, and is supposed to have repented of

* Puffendorf.

her resignation. But, however that may be, it is certain she became tired of her situation, and made two journeys into France; where she was received with much respect by the learned, whom she had pensioned and flattered, but with little attention by the polite, especially of her own sex. Her masculine air and libertine conversation kept women of delicacy at a distance. Nor does she seem to have desired their acquaintance; for when, on her first appearance, some ladies were eager to pay their civilities to her, "What," said she, "make these women so fond of me? Is it because I am so like a man?" The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, whose wit and beauty gave her the power of pleasing to the most advanced age, and who was no less distinguished by the multiplicity of her amours than by the singularity of her manner of thinking, was the only woman in France, whom Christina honoured with any particular mark of her esteem*. She loved the free conversation of men; or of women, who like herself, were above vulgar restraints.

The modest women in France, however, repaid Christina's contempt with ridicule. And happy had it been for her character, had she never excited, in the mind of either sex, a more disagreeable emotion; but that was soon succeeded by those of detestation and horror. As if not only sovereignty but despotism had been attached to her person, in a fit of libidinous jealousy, she ordered Monaldesch, her favourite, to be assassinated in the great gallery at Fontainebleau, and almost in her own presence. Yet the woman, who thus terminated an amour by a murder, did not want her apologists among the learned; and this atrocious violation of the law of nature and nations, in an enlightened age, and in the heart of a civilized kingdom, was allowed to pass, not only without punishment, but without inquiry! Christina found it necessary, however, to leave France, where she was now justly held in abhorrence. She therefore returned to Rome; where, under the vicar of Christ, the greatest criminals find shelter and consolation; and where the queen of Sweden, a dupe to vanity and caprice, spent the remainder of her life, in sensual indulgencies and literary conversation, with cardinal Azzolini, and other members of the sacred college; in admiring many things for which she had no taste, and in talking about more which she did not understand†.

While Christina was thus rambling over Europe, and amusing herself in a manner as unworthy of her former character as of the daughter of the great Gustavus, her successor, Charles X. was indulging the martial spirit of the

* D'Alembert.

† Universal History.

Swedes, by the conquest of Poland. This he accomplished, after several signal victories, in which he discovered both courage and conduct. He also drove the Danes out of the provinces of Schonen, Smaland, Haland, Blekingen, and Bohus-Lehn, which he added to his dominions.

He was succeeded by his son Charles XI. in whose reign the power of the Swedish monarchs became absolute. On his death, the vacant throne was A. D. 1697. filled by his minor son, Charles XII. one of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared on the earth. This young hero, when scarcely eighteen, had successively defeated Frederic IV. of Denmark; Augustus, king of Poland, whom he afterwards dethroned; and the czar Peter the Great. His restless ambition suggested to him the entire conquest of Russia. With this view, he collected a powerful army. The Muscovites in all quarters fled before him; and, after several advantages gained over the czar's forces, he marched towards the Russian capital, Moscow. But at the battle of Pultowa he was defeated, his army cut to pieces, himself wounded, and obliged to fly into Turkey. The Ottoman court giving him no hopes of assistance, he fortified himself in his small retreat at Bender, and with only forty domestics, defended it against the Russian army, not abandoning it till they had set it on fire. From Bender he fled to Demotika, but displeased with his situation there, he resolved to keep his bed as long as he should be obliged to stay in it. This he actually did for ten months, feigning himself ill *. At length, travelling post, with only two companions, through Franconia, and Mecklenburgh, he arrived at Stralsund. Besieged in this city, he escaped to Sweden in the most deplorable condition. Yet these misfortunes did not abate his rage for fighting. He raised a new army, attacked Norway, and laid siege to Fredericshall, where he was killed by a half-pound ball, from A. D. 1718. a cannon loaded with grape-shot, as he was viewing their approaches by star-light. Many, however, have supposed, that Charles was not in reality killed by a shot from the walls of Fredericshall, but that a pistol, from one of those about him, gave the decisive blow which put an end to the life of this celebrated monarch. This opinion is very prevalent in Sweden. And it appears, that the Swedes were tired of a prince, under whom they had lost their richest provinces, their bravest troops, and their national forces; and who yet, untamed by adversity, pursued an unsuccessful war, nor would ever have listened to the

* Voltaire.

voice of peace, or consulted the internal tranquillity of his country*.

On the death of Charles, the states of the kingdom, by a free and voluntary choice, elected his sister, Ulrica Eleonora, for their Queen. But they obliged her, by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, that she might hold it entirely by the suffrage of the people; while she bound herself by the most sacred oaths, never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. Sacrificing soon after the love of royalty to conjugal affection, she relinquished the crown to her husband, the Prince of Hesse, who was chosen by the States, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort, under the title of Frederic. By the new plan of government which was now established, the legislative authority was placed in the diet, and the executive rested in the diet. Frederic dying without issue, the states elected Adolphus Frederic, a near relation to the late monarch; a prince of but moderate abilities. His reign was

made troublesome and uneasy by the factions of the senate. On his death, the Swedish sceptre was given to his son Gustavus Adolphus III. who possessed abilities greatly superior to those of his father.

He had a well cultivated understanding, an insinuating address, and a graceful and commanding elocution. He was about five and twenty years of age when he was proclaimed King of Sweden; and, on his accession to the throne, he adopted every method which the most profound dissimulation and the utmost dexterity could suggest, to increase his popularity. Three times a week he regularly gave audience to all who presented themselves. Neither rank, fortune, nor interest, were necessary to obtain access to him. It was sufficient to have been injured, and to have a legal cause of complaint to lay before him. He listened to the meanest of his subjects with affability, and entered into the minutest details that concerned them. He informed himself of their private affairs, and seemed to interest himself in their happiness. This conduct made him considered as truly the father of his people. He seemed intent on banishing corruption, and promoting union. He declared he would be of no party but that of the nation, and that he would ever pay the most implicit obedience to whatever the diet should enact. These professions lulled the many into a fatal security, though they created suspicions among a few of greater penetration, who thought his majesty promised too much to be in earnest. In the mean time there happened some contentions between

the different orders of the Swedish states, and no methods were left untried to foment these jealousies. Emissaries were likewise planted in every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of sowing discontent among the inhabitants, of rendering them disaffected to the established government, and of exciting them to an insurrection. At length, when the king found his scheme ripe for execution; having taken the proper measures for bringing a considerable number of the officers and soldiers into his interest, he totally over-

Aug. 19,
1772.

turned the Swedish constitution of government*. In less than an hour he made himself master of all the military force of Stockholm. He planted grenadiers, with bayonets fixed, at the door of the council chamber, in which the senate were assembled, and made all the members of it prisoners. And that no news might be carried to any other part of Sweden, of the transaction in which the king was engaged, till the scheme was completed, cannon were drawn from the arsenal, and planted at the palace, the bridges, and other parts of the town, and particularly at all the avenues leading to it. Soldiers stood over these with matches ready lighted; all communication with the country was cut off, no one, without a passport from the king, being allowed to leave the city. The senators were then confined in separate apartments in the palace, and many others, who were supposed to be zealously attached to the liberties of Sweden, were put under arrest. The remainder of the day the king employed in visiting different quarters of the town, in order to receive oaths of fidelity to him from the magistrates, the colleges, and city militia. Oaths were also tendered the next day to the people in general, to whom he addressed a speech, which he concluded by declaring, that his only intention was to restore tranquillity to his native country, by suppressing licentiousness, overturning the aristocratic form of government, reviving the old Swedish liberty, and restoring the ancient laws of Sweden, such as they were before 1680. "I renounce now," said he, "as I have already done, all idea of the abhorred absolute power, or what is called sovereignty, esteeming it now, as before, my greatest glory to be the first citizen among a truly free people."

Thus was this great revolution completed without any bloodshed, in which the Swedes surrendered that constitution, which their forefathers had bequeathed, after the death of Charles XII. as a bulwark against any despotic attempts of their future monarchs. The Swedes, at some periods, have discovered an ardent love of liberty; at others, they have

* Charles Francis Sheridan.

seemed fitted only for slavery; and when they were labouring to render themselves free, they have wanted that sound political knowledge, which would have pointed out to them the proper methods for securing their future freedom. The most capital defect of the Swedish constitution was the total want of all balance of its parts: and the division of the Swedish nation into three distinct classes of nobles, burghers, and peasants, whose interests were perpetually clashing, has been a circumstance very unfavourable to the liberty of the Swedes. The power of their kings was much restrained; but no sufficient regulations were adopted for securing the personal freedom of the subject. These defects in the Swedish constitution paved the way for the late revolution.

Hostilities commenced on the frontiers of A. D. 1788. Finland, between a body of Russian light troops and a detachment of the Swedes posted on the bridge of Pomalasund. After various engagements both by land and sea, in which Gustavus III. gave a display of the most extraordinary abilities, an agreement for establishing an everlasting peace, and fixing the frontiers of Russia, as they were before the war broke out, was signed between the plenipotentiaries of the Empress of Russia and the King of Sweden.

It is natural to suppose, that the steps which Gustavus had taken to render himself absolute, would procure him many enemies, and he at last fell by the hand of an assassin. He was shot at a masquerade by one of his own subjects. The Duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, was appointed regent during the minority of the young prince, who was born on the first of November, 1778.

Of his majesty's tragical death I shall give a particular account. On the 16th of March, as he was preparing to attend a masquerade at the Opera-house, he received the following anonymous letter.

"Sire,

"Deign to listen to the advice of a man, who neither being attached to your service, nor desirous of your favour, flatters not your crimes, but is desirous of averting the danger with which your life is menaced. Be assured, that a plot is formed to assassinate you. Those who have entered into it, are furious at being foiled last week, by the ball's being countermanded. They have resolved to execute their scheme this day. Remain at home, avoid balls during the present year: thus the fanaticism of criminality will be suffered to evaporate. Avoid the road to Haga *

* The king's country residence.

“in fine, be upon your guard for at least a month. Do not endeavour to discover the author of this letter; the damnable project against your life is come to his knowledge by accident; be assured, however, that he has not any interest whatever in forewarning you of your intended fate.”

The king, on reading the note, it is said, was observed to turn pale. He, however, affected to hear it with contempt, and to consider it as an insult to his courage, to attempt to deter him from enjoying his evening's entertainment. It was farther remarked that it was late before he entered the ball room; but after some time he sat down in a box with the Count D'Essen, and observed that he was not deceived in his contempt for the letter, since had there been any design against his life, no time could be more favourable than that moment. He then mingled, without apprehension, among the crowd; and just as he was preparing to retire in company with the Prussian ambassador, he was surrounded by several persons in masks, one of whom fired a pistol at the back of the king, and lodged the contents in his body. A scene of dreadful confusion immediately ensued. The conspirators, amidst the general tumult and alarm, had time to retire to other parts of the room; but one of them had previously dropped his pistol and a dagger close by the wounded king. A general order was given to all the company to unmask, and the doors were immediately closed; but no person appeared with any particular distinguished marks of guilt. The king was immediately conveyed to his apartment, and the surgeon, after extracting a ball and some slugs, gave favourable hopes of his majesty's recovery.

The 17th was a day of apprehension and terror. The Swedish guards were all under arms; patrols and pickets were ordered to traverse the streets of Stockholm both night and day; and the houses of the citizens were to be shut after eight in the evening. Suspensions immediately fell upon such of the nobles as had been notorious for their opposition to the measures of the court. The anonymous letter was traced up to colonel Liljehorn, major in the king's guards, and he was immediately apprehended. But the most successful clue that seemed to offer was in consequence of the weapons which had fallen from the assassin. An order was issued directing all the armourers, gunsmiths, and cutlers in Stockholm, to give every information in their power to the officers of justice concerning the weapons. A gunsmith who had repaired the pistols recognized them to be the same which he had repaired some time since for a *nobleman* of the name of *Ankarstrom*, a captain in the army; and the cutler, who had made the dagger, referred at once to the same person.

Ankarstrom was no sooner apprehended, than he confessed, with an air of manifest triumph, that he was the person, "*who had endeavoured to liberate his country from a monster and a tyrant.*" Suspicions at the same time fell on the counts Horn and Ribbing, baron Pechlin, baron Ehrensvard, baron Hartsmendorf, Von Engerstrom the royal secretary, and others. Baron Beilke, the king's private secretary, being also apprehended on suspicion, declared without hesitation that he was privy to the plot, but, added, that he had provided against the punishment which he knew awaited him, and against the risk of being compelled by torture to betray those who were associated with him. He had in fact swallowed poison, and expired shortly after this declaration. His body was afterwards drawn on a hurdle, and exposed to public view at the common place of execution.

From the confession of Ankarstrom it appeared, that he had been himself a principal in the conspiracy from the beginning; and that in consequence of an intimacy which existed between him and count Horn, they had often been led to converse upon political subjects, on which they were perfectly agreed. They deplored the annihilation of their country's liberty and constitution, and resented the recent calamities which the false ambition of Gustavus had brought upon the nation; and concluded, that the only means of redressing the grievances under which it laboured, and of rescuing it from others which were still more to be apprehended, would be to assassinate the king, or at least to remove him from the government. In consequence of this determination, they concerted a plan for carrying him off by night from his Villa at Haga, where he usually slept; and in the beginning of January they walked round through the park and woods of Haga, but found every avenue too securely guarded. Count Ribbing was informed of the conspiracy through count Horn, and readily acceded to it. Ankarstrom undertook to be the immediate agent for the assassination; and with this intention, in company with count Horn, he attended the theatre on the 16th of January, and sat in the next box to the king's, but his majesty did not appear at the theatre that evening. With the same purpose in view they went to the masquerade, which was given by the king on the 19th of the same month; but as the concourse of people did not appear sufficient to afford them any hopes of concealment, the design was deferred. Ankarstrom and Ribbing followed the king to the diet at Gefle, and returned with him to Stockholm. They determined to effect their purpose at a masquerade on the 2nd of March, but that entertainment was put off. Count Ribbing informed Liljehorn, and baron Pechlin

Pechlin of the plot, which both of them approved, and promised their assistance. On the fatal 16th of March, when Ankastrom had fired his pistol, not seeing the king fall immediately, he drew his dagger in order to effect his purpose, but was seized with a tremor, and dropped both the dagger and the pistol on the floor. He, however, had presence of mind to mingle immediately with the crowd, and to join in a cry of fire, which probably arose, at first, from the appearance of that confusion which it afterwards contributed to increase. In a subsequent examination, Ankastrom apologized for having so far exposed the secrets of his friends, by observing that no torture should have wrested this confession from him, had he not been informed that Liljehorn, who wrote the anonymous letter, and count Horn, were both in custody, and that his letters to the latter had been seized by the government. He mentioned slightly, that his private misfortunes, by which he probably alluded to some slights which he suffered from the king, had contributed to render him desperate. After a very fair and ample trial, Ankastrom was condemned to be publicly and severely whipped, on three successive days, his right hand and his head to be cut off, and his body impaled; which sentence he suffered not till the 17th of May, long after the death of the king.—His property was given to his children, who, however, were compelled to change their name.

The counts Horn and Ribbing were condemned to lose their right hands and to be decapitated. Colonel Liljehorn, and lieutenant Ehrenjwerd, were also to be beheaded. All these conspirators were degraded from the rank of nobles, and their property declared to be confiscated. Major Hartmansdorf was to forfeit his rank in the army, and to be imprisoned for one year. Engerstrom was to suffer perpetual imprisonment, and baron Pechlin and secretary Lillestrahle, to be imprisoned during pleasure. Four others, accused of being concerned in the conspiracy, were pardoned, and some were acquitted.

The king languished from the 17th to the 29th of March. At first the reports of his medical attendants were favourable; but on the 28th a mortification was found to have taken place, which terminated his existence in a few hours. On opening his body, a square piece of lead and two rusty nails were found unextracted within the ribs. During his illness, and particularly after he was made acquainted with the certainty of his approaching dissolution, Gustavus continued to display that unshaken courage which he had manifested on every occasion during his life. A few hours before his decease, he made some alterations in the arrangement of

public affairs. He had before, by his will, appointed a council of regency; but convinced, by recent experience, how little he could depend on the attachment of his nobles, and being also aware of the necessity of a strong government in difficult times, he appointed his brother, the duke of Sudermania, sole regent, till his son, who was then about fourteen, shall have attained the age of eighteen years. Immediately on the death of the king, the young prince was proclaimed by the title of Gustavus IV.

Thus fell, by the hand of treason, in his forty-sixth year, Gustavus III. He was a prince of high ambition, but rather a man of address than of ability. His manners, as we have already observed, were popular and insinuating, his eloquence fluent and bold. His conduct was, however, seldom tempered with judgment, or his speeches replete with solid information. He was too desirous of being great, to permit himself or his people to be happy; and the unfortunate predilection which he had imbibed for arbitrary power, made him, in reality, a slave and a dependant during the greater part of his reign. A passion for *war* in a sovereign, is the greatest curse that can afflict a state; and if a revolutionary power could be established consistently with the safety of a limited monarchy, the great disqualification should be, the love of war. If in private life a turbulent disposition unfits a man for society, surely the evil is increased in an infinite proportion, where the lives of millions, and the treasures of nations are wantonly squandered. By the imprudence of Gustavus, in this respect, Sweden was exhausted of its resources, and reduced in its population; and had he proceeded on his wild enterprize against France, his country would probably, at the termination of the crusade, have fallen an unresisting prey to the insatiable ambition of Russia. As the king of Sweden was desirous of emulating, in every instance, the character of his uncle, the late king of Prussia, he was not superior to the vanity of appearing as an author. Some dramatic compositions, which were acted at the national theatre, have been well spoken of; but his writings, in general, do not deserve much commendation, and his orations at the opening of the Swedish academy, in particular, are turgid and yet feeble, poor in matter and abounding only in words. It is but just, however, to add, that, except his love of war, which certainly always indicates a want of feeling and humanity in a character, the errors of Gustavus appear to have been rather errors of the understanding than of the heart. Even in desiring arbitrary power, he does not seem to have been prompted by any inclination to abuse it, for he was not practically a tyrant. The last scene of his life was

such

such indeed as ought to blot from remembrance a long catalogue of crimes. His last words were a declaration of pardon to the conspirators against his life. The actual murderer alone was excepted; and he was excepted only at the strong instance of the regent, and those who surrounded his majesty in his dying moments.

With this mixture of character as a man, in which the good seems almost to be predominant, it cannot be doubted that Gustavus was a bad king. His perfidy, his usurpation, his military spirit, all conspired against the good of his country. The mild and equal conduct of the regent, however, has preserved Sweden from the horrors of internal war; while the wisdom, spirit, and patriotism of his councils, will probably save it from the insidious attacks of a restless and dangerous neighbour. Wisely averse to hostility, the duke of Sudermania has cultivated successfully the friendship of all the belligerent powers, except Russia. In the mean time, his attention has been laudably directed to exciting the dormant spirit of industry in the nation; to the encouragement of their domestic manufactures, and to the enforcing of rigid economy among all the dependents of government; in order that the example of the court, co-operating with his own, may exert a salutary influence over the people in opposing the increase of luxury, gambling, and dissipation. It is a pleasure to contemplate such dispositions in so elevated a station, and while the regent perseveres in this conduct, he will undoubtedly merit the enviable title of the Father of his Prince and of his Country.

With regard to *learning*, the famous queen Christina may be accounted to have been a genius in many branches of knowledge. That able civilian, statesman, and historian Puffendorff, was a native of Sweden; and so was the late celebrated Linnæus, whose memory will be ever dear to all the lovers of science, but particularly the science of botany. The name of Linnæus may be classed amongst those of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, and other great philosophers, who were friends to religion. He always testified in his conversations, writings, and actions, the highest reverence for the Supreme Being; and was so strongly impressed with the idea of omnipresence, that he wrote over the door of his study; "*Innocui vivite, Numen adest* *."

The great merits of Linnæus as a naturalist are to be estimated from the rude state in which he found all the branches of natural history, and the perfection to which he carried them; in drawing order from confusion, and perspicuity from

* Live innocent; the Deity is present

darkness. His understanding comprehensive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almost infinite variety of objects, which the magnitude of the greatest could not fatigue, nor the insignificance of the smallest elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet; and it would require no small volume to trace even the outlines of his system now distinguished by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compass of natural history. In these extensive and various pursuits, we know not which to admire most, his intimate knowledge, his fertility of invention, his indefatigable industry, his scientific arrangement, or that wonderful exactness in discriminating, where the minutest shades of difference are scarcely perceptible *.

CHAP. XVIII.

DENMARK.

The Danes Land in the Isle of Shepey—Protestant Religion established by Christian III.—Copenhagen reduced to Ashes—Pragmatic Sanction—Christian VII.—Queen Matilda—Struensee and Brandt—Literature.

DENMARK, which is part of the ancient Scandinavia, is at present bounded on the south by Holstein, on the north and on the west by the German Ocean, and on the east by the Baltic. The old inhabitants of this northern region of Europe, were rude, fierce and martial. Strangers to art and industry, they subsisted by hunting, pasturage, and plunder. Neglecting agriculture, their uncultivated territories soon became over-stocked, and colonies issued forth from to time, under chieftains or generals, which at last almost deluged every part of Europe. In these migrations they occasionally bore the appellations of Cimbri, Goths, Lombards, Normans, and Danes. These northern adventurers, after having harassed the coasts of France with their robberies and piracies, under the name of Normans, from their northern situation, extended their ravages to Britain, where they were known by the general name of Danes. They first landed in the isle of Shepey, in the reign of Eg-

* Dr. Pulteney, on the writings of Linnæus. Coxe's Travels.

bert, and carried off their booty with impunity. The plunderers continued their incursions, till their king, Sweyn, made a complete conquest of England, and left it to his son, Canute, who was king of Eng- A. D. 1018.
land, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. About this time, Denmark may be said to have been in its zenith of glory, as far as extent of dominion can give sanction to the expression.

From this period, Danish history is involved in great uncertainty, for upwards of three centuries. Few important and interesting events, which may be depended on, have been recorded, prior to the reign of Margaret Waldemar, who, as we have already seen, united in her own person, the crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway *. She held her dignity with such firmness and courage, that she was justly styled the Semiramis of the North. This union did not last longer than the beginning of the 16th century, when Christiern II. one of the completest tyrants that have disgraced the annals of history, was obliged to claim to Denmark and Norway. Frederic, duke of Holstein, was unanimously A. D. 1536.
called to the throne, on the deposition of his cruel nephew, who openly embraced the opinions of Luther; and the protestant religion was established in Denmark, by that wise and politic prince, Christian III. The Dutch persuaded Christian's grandson Frederic III. to declare war against Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, which had almost cost him his crown. Charles marched his army over the ice to the island of Funen, where he surprised the Danish troops, and marched over the great Belt to besiege Copenhagen itself. Cromwell, who then governed England under the title of Protector, interposed, and Frederic defended his capital with great magnanimity till peace was concluded.

Frederic IV. was perpetually engaged in wars with the Swedes; and while Charles XII. was an exile at Bender, he made a descent upon the Swedish Pomerania. In the year 1716, the successes of Frederic were so great, that his allies began to suspect he was aiming at the sovereignty of all Scandinavia. Upon the return of Charles of Sweden from his exile, he renewed the war against Denmark with a most embittered spirit; but on the death of that prince, Frederic durst not refuse the offer of his Britannic majesty's mediation between him and the crown of Sweden; in consequence of which a peace was concluded at Stockholm, which left him in possession of the duchy of Sleswick. Frederic died in the year 1730, after having two years before seen his capital re-

duced to ashes by an accidental fire. His son and successor Christian VI. guaranteed the pragmatic sanction. A. D. 1734. This was an agreement, by which the princes of Europe engaged to support the House of Austria in favour of the queen of Hungary, daughter of the emperor Charles VI. who had no male issue. He sent six thousand men to the assistance of the emperor, during the dispute of the succession. Though he was pacific, yet he was tenacious of his rights. He had so great a party in the kingdom of Sweden, that it was generally thought, his son would be declared successor to his then Swedish majesty. Some steps for that purpose were certainly taken: but whatever Christian's view might have been, the design was frustrated by the jealousy of other powers, who could not bear the thoughts of seeing all Scandinavia subject to one family. Christian died in 1746, with the character of being the father of his people. His son, Frederic V. in 1743, married the princess Louisa daughter to his Britannic majesty George II. He improved upon his father's plan, for the happiness of his people, but took no concern except that of a mediator in the German war. It was by this intervention that the treaty of Closter-seven was concluded between the late duke of Cumberland and the French general Richlieu, Upon the death of his first queen, who was mother to his present Danish majesty, he married a daughter of the duke of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle; and died in 1766.

His son Christian, born in 1749, married his present Britannic majesty's youngest sister, the A. D. 1769. princess Carolina-Matilda. This alliance, though it wore at first a very promising appearance, had a very unfortunate termination. This is partly attributed to the intrigues of the queen-dowager, mother-in-law to the present king; who has a son named Frederic, and whom she is represented as desirous of raising to the throne. When the princess Carolina-Matilda came to Copenhagen, she received her with all the appearance of friendship and affection, acquainting her with the king's faults, and at the same time telling her, that she would take every opportunity, as a mother, to assist her in reclaiming him. By this conduct, she became the depositary of all the young queen's secrets, whilst at the same time, it is said, she placed people about the king, to keep him constantly engaged in all kinds of riot or debauchery. When the king was upon his travels, the queen-dowager used frequently to visit the young queen; and, under the mask of friendship and affection, told her of the excesses which the king had fallen into in Holland, England, and France, and persuaded her not to live with him.

But

But as soon as the king returned, the queen gently reproaching him with his conduct, his mother-in-law endeavoured to persuade the king to give no ear to her counsels, as it was presumption in a queen of Denmark to direct the king. Matilda now began to discover the designs of the queen-dowager, and afterwards lived upon good terms with the king. The young queen also now assumed to herself the part which the queen-dowager had been complimented with in the management of public affairs. This stung the old queen; and her thoughts were now entirely occupied with schemes of revenge. But her views of this kind at first appeared the more difficult to carry into execution, because the king had displaced several of her friends who were about the court, who had been increasing the national debt in times of the most profound peace, and who were rioting on the spoils of the public. However, she at length found means to gratify her revenge in a very ample manner. About the end of the year 1770, it was observed that Brandt and Struensee were particularly regarded by the king, the former as a favourite, and the latter as a minister; and that they had paid great court to queen Matilda, and were supported by her. This opened a new scene of intrigue at Copenhagen; all the discarded placemen paid their court to the queen-dowager, and she became the head of the party. Struensee and Brandt wanted to make a reform in the administration of the public affairs at once, which should have been the work of time; and thereby made a great number of enemies among those whose interest it was that things should continue upon the same footing that they had been for some time before. After this, queen Matilda was delivered of a daughter; but as soon as the queen-dowager saw her, she, with a malicious smile, declared that the child had all the features of Struensee: on which her friends published it among the people, that the queen must have had an intrigue with Struensee, which was corroborated by the queen's often speaking with this minister in public. A great variety of evil reports were now propagated; and it was asserted, that the governing party had formed a design to supersede the king, as being incapable of governing; that the queen was to be declared regent during the minority of her son; and that Struensee was to be her prime minister. Whatever Struensee did to reform the abuses of the late ministry was represented to the people as so many attacks upon, and attempts to destroy the government of the kingdom. By such means the people began to be greatly incensed against this minister; and as he also wanted to make a reform in the military, he gave great offence to the troops, at the head of which were some creatures of the queen-

queen-dowager, who took every opportunity to make their inferior officers believe that it was the design of Struensee to change the whole system of government. It must be admitted, that this minister seems in many respects to have acted very imprudently, and to have been too much under the guidance of his passions; his principles also appear to have been of the libertine kind.

Many councils were held between the queen-dowager and her friends upon the proper measures to be taken for effectuating their designs; and it was at length resolved to surprise the king in the middle of the night, and force him immediately to sign an order, which was to be prepared in readiness, for committing the persons before mentioned to separate prisons; to accuse them of high treason in general, and in particular of a design to poison or dethrone the king; and if that could not be properly supported, by torture or otherwise, to procure witnesses to confirm the report of a criminal commerce between the queen and Struensee. This was an undertaking of so hazardous a nature, that the wary count Moltke and most of the queen-dowager's friends excused themselves from taking any open and active part of this affair. However, the queen-dowager at last procured a sufficient number of active instruments for the execution of her designs. On the 16th of January, 1772, a masked ball was given at the court of Denmark. The king had danced at this ball, and afterwards played at quadrille with general Gahler, his lady, and counsellor Struensee, brother to the count. The queen after dancing as usual one country dance with the king, gave her hand to count Struensee during the remainder of the evening. She retired about two in the morning, and was followed by him and count Brandt. About four the same morning, prince Frederic, who had also been at the ball, went with the queen-dowager to the king's bed-chamber, accompanied by general Eichstedt and count Rantzau. They ordered his majesty's valet-de-chambre to awake him, and in the midst of the surprise that this intrusion excited, they informed him that queen Matilda and the two Struensees were at that instant busy in drawing up an act of renunciation of the crown, which they would immediately compel him to sign: and that the only means to prevent so imminent a danger, was to sign the orders which they had brought with them for arresting the queen and her accomplices. It is said that the king was not easily prevailed upon to sign these orders, but at length complied. Count Rantzau, and three officers, hastened at that untimely hour to the queen's apartments, and immediately arrested her. She was put into one of the king's coaches, conveyed to the castle of Cronenburgh,

Cronenburgh, together with the infant princess, attended by lady Mostyn, and escorted by a party of dragoons. In the mean time, Struensee and Brandt were also seized in their beds and imprisoned in the citadel. Struensee's brother, and most of the members of the late administration, were seized the same night, to the number of about eighteen, and thrown into confinement. The government after this seemed to be entirely lodged in the hands of the queen-dowager and her son, assisted by those who had the principal share in the revolution; while the king appeared to be little more than a pageant, whose person and name it was necessary occasionally to make use of. All the officers concerned in the revolution were immediately promoted, and an almost total change took place in the departments of administration, a new council was appointed, in which prince Frederic presided, and a commission of eight members, to examine the papers of the prisoners, and to commence a process against them. The son of queen Matilda, the prince royal, now entered into the fifth year of his age, was put into the care of a lady of quality, who was appointed governess, under the superintendency of the queen-dowager. Struensee and Brandt were put in irons, and very rigorously treated in prison; they both underwent frequent examinations, and at length received sentence of death. They were beheaded on the 28th of April, having their right hands previously cut off. Struensee at first absolutely denied having any criminal intercourse with the queen; but this he afterwards confessed: and though he is said to have been induced to do this only by the fear of torture, the proofs of his guilt were esteemed notorious, and his confessions full and explicit. Besides no measures were adopted by the court of Great Britain to clear up the queen's character in this respect.

During the confinement of queen Matilda in the palace of Cronenburgh, she inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permission to walk upon the side batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reason to apprehend, that the party which had occasioned her arrest meditated still more violent measures. When the English minister at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his spirited conduct, she was so surprised with the unexpected intelligence, that she instantly burst into a flood of tears, embraced him in a transport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a short conference, the minister proposed that her majesty should immediately embark on board a ship, that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom, in which she had experienced such a train of misfortunes. But however anxious she

she was to depart, one circumstance checked the excess of her joy: a few months before her imprisonment, she had been delivered of a princess, (as has already been related) whom she suckled herself. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and she had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the constant companion of her misery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the measles; and, having nursed it with unceasing solicitude, she was desirous of continuing her attention and care. All those circumstances had so endeared the child to her, rendered more susceptible of tenderness in a prison than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princess was intimated to her, she testified the strongest emotions of grief, and could not, for some time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after bestowing repeated caresses upon this darling object of her affection, she retired to the vessel in an agony of despair. She remained upon the deck, her eyes immoveably directed towards the palace of Cronenburgh, which contained her child, that had been so long her only comfort, until darkness intercepted the view. The vessel having made but little way during night, at day break she observed with fond satisfaction that the palace was still visible; and could not be persuaded to enter the cabin as long as she could discover the faintest glimpse of the battlements*.

It is well known that her majesty resided in the city of Zell, in the electoral dominions of his Britannic majesty, where she was carried off by a malignant fever,

A. D. 1775. in the twenty fourth year of her age. Queen

Matilda was naturally of a lively disposition, until her misfortunes brought on a settled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company she endeavoured to dissemble her sorrows, and assume a cheerfulness to which her heart was a stranger. She became extremely fond of solitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the most bitter lamentations. She retained, to her last moments, the most unaffected attachments to her children in Denmark; with all the anxiety of a parent, she made repeated inquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minutest accounts of their healths, amusements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, she placed them in her most retired apartments, often apostrophized them as if they were present, and addressed them in the tenderest manner.

His Danish majesty appears to have such a debility of understanding as to disqualify him for the proper management of public affairs. In 1784, another court revolution took place.

The

The queen Dowager's friends were removed, a new council was formed under the auspices of the prince royal, some of the former old members were restored to the cabinet; and no regard is to be paid for the future to any instrument, unless signed by the king, and countersigned by the prince royal.

The Danes, in general, make no great figure in *literature*; though astronomy and medicine are highly indebted to their Tycho Brahe, Borichius, and the Bartholines. The science of botany owes great obligations to the celebrated Christian Oeder, to whom we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, through the liberality of his monarch. In speaking of the publications on natural history, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the most splendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare shells, in two volumes folio. "The first volume," says a late traveller, "which is the one I have seen, contains a short account of the collection of natural history, and particularly of shells in Denmark; a preliminary discourse in chronology, with a detail of the several authors who have written on the subject, and their different systems, and 78 complete and delicately coloured figures, in 12 plates, accompanied with scientific descriptions, in the Latin, French and German languages."

CH A P. XIX.

N O R W A Y.

Union of this Country with Denmark—Salubrity of the Air—Mountains—Forests—Quarries—Manners and Longevity of the Inhabitants.

NORWAY was originally divided into small independent principalities, which continued till the ninth century, when they were all united under Herald Harfager. This kingdom was united to the crown of Denmark by queen Margaret, and has ever since been governed by viceroys.

The air is so pure in some of the inland parts, that it has been said the inhabitants live so long as to be tired of life, and cause themselves to be transported to a less salubrious air. At Bergen the longest day consists of about nineteen hours, and the shortest of about five. In summer, the inhabitants can read and write at midnight by the light of the sky; and in the most northerly parts, about midsummer, the sun is

continually in view. In those parts, however, in the middle of winter, there is only a faint glimmering of light at noon for about an hour and a half; owing to the reflection of the sun's rays on the mountains. Nature, notwithstanding, has been so kind to the Norwegians, that in the midst of their darkness the sky is so serene, and the moon and the aurora borealis so bright, that they can carry on their fishery, and work at their several trades in open air.

Immense *mountains* present themselves all over Norway; some of them with reservoirs of water on the top; and the whole forming a most surprising landscape. The activity of the natives, in recovering their sheep and goats, when penned up, through a false step, in one of those rocks, is wonderful. The owner directs himself to be lowered down from the top of the mountain, sitting on a cross stick, tied to the end of a long rope; and when he arrives at the place where the creature stands, he fastens it to the same cord, and it is drawn up with himself. The caverns that are to be met with in these mountains are more wonderful than those, perhaps, in any other part of the world. One of them, called Dolsteen, was, in 1750, visited by two clergymen, who reported, that they proceeded in it till they heard the sea dashing over their heads; that the passage was as wide and high as an ordinary church, the sides perpendicular, and the roof vaulted: that they descended a flight of natural stairs; but when they arrived at another, they durst not venture to proceed, but returned; and that they consumed two candles going and returning.

The chief wealth of Norway lies in its *forests*, which furnish foreigners with masts, beams, planks, and boards; and serve besides for all domestic uses; particularly the construction of houses, bridges, ships, and for charcoal to the founderies. The timber growing here are fir and pine, elm, ash, benreed, (a very curious wood) birch, beech, oak, yew, alder, juniper, the aspen-tree, the comol or sloe-tree, the hazel, ebony, lime or linden tree, and willows. The sums which Norway receives for timber are very considerable; the industry of the inhabitants is greatly assisted by the course of their rivers, and the situation of their lakes; which afford them not only the conveniency of floating down their timber, but of erecting saw-mills, for dividing their large beams into planks and deals. A tenth of all sawed timber belongs to his Danish majesty, and forms no inconsiderable part of his revenue.

Norway contains quarries of excellent marble, as well as many other kinds of stones; and the magnet is found in the iron mines. The amianthus, or asbestos, is found likewise here;

as are crystals, granites, amethysts, agate, thunder-stones, and eagle-stones. Gold found in Norway has been coined into ducats. His Danish majesty is now working, to great advantage, a silver mine at Koningsberg; other silver mines have been found in different parts of the country; and one of the many silver masses that have been discovered, weighing 560 pounds, is to be seen at the royal museum at Copenhagen. Lead, copper, and iron mines, are common in this country: one of the copper-mines, at Roraas, is thought to be the richest in Europe.

The coast of Norway may be said to be the native country of herrings. Innumerable are the shoals that come from under the ice at the north pole, and about the latitude of Iceland divide themselves into three bodies; one of these supply the western Isles and coast of Scotland, another directs its course round the eastern part of Great Britain, down the Channel, and the third enters the Baltic through the Sound. They form great part of the food of the common people; the cod, ling, kabeliau, and torfk-fishes follow them, and feed upon their spawn, and are taken in prodigious numbers in fifty or sixty fathoms water: these, especially their roes, and the oil extracted from their livers, are exported and sold to great advantage; and above 150,000 people are maintained by the herring and other fishing on the coast of Norway.

The summer in Norway is very short. They sow and reap in six weeks time, and yet it does not produce corn sufficient for the natives, and those that come there for trade.

The manners of the middling Norwegians form a proper subject of contemplation even to a philosopher, as they lead that kind of life which we may say is furnished with plenty; but they are neither fond of luxury, nor do they dread penury: and this middle state prolongs their age surprisingly. Though their dress is in many respects accommodated to their climate; yet, by custom, instead of guarding against the inclemency of the weather, they outbrave it; for they expose themselves to cold, without any cover upon their breasts or necks. A Norwegian of a hundred years of age is not accounted past his labour: and in 1733, four couples were married, and danced before his Danish majesty at Fredericshall, whose ages, when joined, exceeded eight hundred years.

CHAP. XX.

GREENLAND.

Of the Country in general—Of the Northern Seas—Mountains of Ice—Where and how they coagulate—Ice-Fields—Conjectures concerning their Formation.

GREENLAND is the remotest tract of land in the north. It lies between Europe and America, and belongs to the crown of Denmark. No ship having as yet traced it to the most northern parts, on account of the ice, it is not yet decided whether it be an island or not. From some late discoveries of the Russians, it does not appear to join on the east, with Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, or Tartary; but, is supposed to join America, on the north-west; because the sea that apparently parts them, and is called Davis's Straits, or Baffin's Bay, grows gradually narrower, as it approaches the 78th degree, and because the coast, which rises very high towards that bay, falls lower and lower the farther north we go. The Greenlanders, indeed, say (though it is doubtful how far they can be relied on) that Davis's Straits contracts itself so much, as it tends northward, that they can travel on the ice so near to the opposite shore as to be able to make the inhabitants hear; but, that they cannot get across, owing to the strength of the current from the north.

Icelandic authors have described old Greenland, on the eastern side, as crowded with churches and villages; and they might have said the same of the western side, opposite to America, for that the old Norwegians, or people of Norway, had houses and churches there also, is evident from the many vestiges of them now to be found.

The islands of Spitzbergen, lying north of Lapland, between the 75th and 80th degrees of latitude, with the eastern coast of Greenland, lying opposite thereto, are but thinly, if at all, inhabited at present; but the western side of Greenland, from the 62nd, to the 71st degree north, is again colonized by Europeans! The islands of Spitzbergen, however, are pretty much frequented during the season of the whale-fishery. Some few Dutchmen were once left there during a winter, but they all perished. The globe is here so round, that even at the distance of six miles in a calm, the masts of a ship only are discoverable; at eight miles, no other part can be seen but the top-mast, and at twelve miles distance, the flag only; yet, the mountains of Spitzbergen

rise so high, as to be seen forty-eight miles. Lord Mulgrave, in his voyage to the north pole, coasted round them.

The land on the western side of Greenland, is barren, high, and rocky, and rears its head in most places adjoining the ocean, in such lofty mountains, and inaccessible cliffs, as may be seen at sea, at the distance of forty leagues. The cliffs and mountains are constantly covered with ice and snow, which, by continually falling, have filled the vallies, and seem annually to encrease their height. The plains between the rocks are also covered with frost, except here and there a patch, where there is a scanty portion of earth and grass, an occasional little brook and pond, and some few low scattered shrubs.

Along the coasts in Davis's Straits and Baffin's Bay, which is the sea that divides Greenland from the northern coasts of America, there are numberless deep bays and creeks that run up far within the land; and, the shores are bordered with many islands of different extent. To those who have seen the Norway coast, we may say, this of Greenland is not unlike it, except, that the hills here are not clothed with trees, nor the vallies enriched with herbage, and that the mountains are every where high and pointed.

Within land there are no inhabitants, and but very few upon the coast. The few there are inhabit the southern parts from Statenhook, to the 62nd degree. But, as no Europeans live there, these places are but little known to us.

Of the European settlements, the most southern is the colony of *Frederic's Haab*, or *Frederic's Hope*, situated in the 62nd degree of north latitude, begun by the Danes in 1742. It lies one mile and a half from the open sea, and is a good haven and place for trade. In the islands opposite, where the Dutch merchant ships formerly harboured, many Greenlanders reside, being well situated for catching fish, seals, and rein-deer. This colony is yet but small. In 1754, it consisted only of a factor, a Moravian missionary, and about six or eight European sailors, three or four of whom were married to Greenland women.

Twelve leagues north of this colony, is that famous ice-glance or shining ice, called in the charts, *Eis-blink*. It is a great high field of ice, whose glances in the air, resembling the *aurora borealis*, may be seen at sea for many leagues. It was an inlet within the land, whose mouth is now blocked up in such a manner, by many huge pieces of ice, driven out by the ebb, that it forms, as it were, an arched ice-bridge, eight leagues in length, stretching from land to land, and two in breadth. It has many openings or irregular arches,

from fourteen to forty yards in height, which might be passed through in boats, but, from the danger of pieces of ice often falling within. These, and many others that tumble from the adjoining hills, are driven by the ebb through these arches into the sea. Such Greenlanders as wish to enter this harbour, carry their little canoes over land, upon their heads, and when they have passed this bridge, they find open water for twenty leagues in length, and two in breadth. Places are found here where Greenland houses formerly stood; a proof, that the mouth of the harbour was once open.

About thirty-six leagues north of Frederick's Hope, is another colony, called *Fischer's-forte*, or Fisher's bay, begun in 1754. Here the Moravians established a second mission in 1758; but, as few Greenlanders live about this place, it has but little trade. In this neighbourhood are seen many ruins; probably, the relics of the old Norwegians.

A third colony, called Godhaab, or Good-hope, lies in 46 deg. 14 min. thirty-six leagues north of Fisher's bay. Here there are some hundreds of small islands, crowded together in the compass of six leagues. The Moravians have here also established a congregation, built a church, a provision house, a smith's shop, and a brew-house, and the houses of the natives are scattered round them. This is the oldest colony in Greenland, having been founded in 1721. It was formerly inhabited by some thousands of Greenlanders, but the small-pox having made great ravage, in 1733, the number is so decreased, that there are now few natives here settled. To give the reader some idea of the ravages the small-pox made, it was calculated in 1746, that on the whole western coast of Greenland, in the space of 400 leagues, there were not above 20,000 Greenlanders there settled, whereas, in 1730, the number was computed at 30,000.

In latitude, 65 deg. 46 m. fifty-six leagues north of Good-hope, is a fourth colony, founded in 1755. Trade is here pretty good, though there are but few Greenlanders. This colony, and that of Good-hope, is frequented by one ship only, and the trade consists of seals, blubber, and the skins of seals and foxes. In this neighbourhood are several salmon fisheries. In the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude, is Wyde-bay, a fifth colony, established for traffic and the whale-fishery, in 1759. This is one of the most commodious places for trade and residence on the whole coast. Sixteen leagues farther north in 68 deg. lies another colony, called *Egede's-minde* or Egede's Memorial, erected in 1759. This place is frozen up all the winter, and is not open till May, when the whale-fishery is over,

A seventh

A seventh colony, established in 1734, lies in 69 deg. There are also three or four others, but the twelfth and farthest north is in 71 deg. erected in 1758. We are told by the natives, that the country is inhabited as far north as 78 deg. though very thinly; for notwithstanding there is plenty of eider-fowls, white bears, seals and whales, yet, owing to the long winter-nights, no one liked to live there long, the land being little else than dreary rock and ice. In these parts, instead of building their houses with wood and turf, as in more southern places, they are obliged to erect them with clay, seal-skins, and the horns of the unicorn fish. According to their information, the land stretches north-west towards America, and they tell us, that here and there are stones standing erect, with arms extended, like our guide-posts, as if they were set up, as directions for travelling thence to the northern posts of America.

It were to be wished that any tolerable account could be given, on which one might rely, of the state of Greenland, some centuries back. The natives know nothing of their fore-fathers, but, that they extirpated the former northern inhabitants. According to the account of Arngrim Jonas, the learned-Icelander, one Eric, a descendant of a Norwegian earl, being condemned to a three years banishment, sought this place; and finding it, returned to Iceland, and the third year persuaded people to go to his new discovered island, which he called Greenland; representing it as a place abounding with pasture, wood and fish. Eric was followed by twenty-five ships, full of people; and, in process of time, greater numbers flocked there from Iceland and Norway, and stocked the country with inhabitants, both on the east and west side, till it was computed to be a third part as numerous as a Danish episcopal diocese. Writers have not decided about the time of these events, but it seems to be about the year 830.

Torfæus, the Icelander, who wrote in the twelfth century, speaks of a number of monkeries and some nunneries; and Theodore, who was bishop in Iceland, in the last century, relates, that in Einar's inlet, in latitude 65 deg. stood a great wood, where cattle were pastured that belonged to the cathedral church at the end of the bay, near the village Gardar. In the great island Rinsey, says he, is an extensive hunt of rein-deer, and also the best soft bastard-marble, of which the Greenlanders make pitchers and vessels, containing ten or twelve barrels each, so firm, as to endure fire. Farther west, lies Long Island, containing eight farms belonging to the bishop's see. He makes mention also of nineteen bays or inlets on the east side, round which stood one hundred

dred and ninety villages, forming twelve parishes, besides a bishop's seat and two cloisters. Torfæus describes the air as more serene and settled, and the cold not so intense in Greenland as in Iceland, and Norway. It is related also in the Danish records, that in the year 1308, there was such a storm of thunder and lightning, that a church was thrown down, many pinnacles of rocks torn off, and that the dust of the broken stones flew about like rain; and, that this storm was followed by such a severe winter, as they had never before seen, when the ice did not thaw for a whole year.

Their descriptions of the fruitfulness or produce of the land, are not only various but contradictory. The Iceland annals sometimes tell us, that the country produced the best wheat, and others, that nothing would grow there for the cold. They speak of woods where white bears were hunted, and mention oak-trees that bore acorns as large as apples, and of a taste as pleasant as chestnuts. These accounts, however, are not to be relied on.

In the Danish chronicle we are told, that in 1023, the Greenlanders became tributary to the kings of Norway, which was soon after they embraced the Christian faith, and that they were governed by a viceroy, according to the laws of Iceland. We find no traces of their military strength, either by land or sea. The Greenland trade, indeed, is said to have been very considerable, and it may easily be believed, that they exported a great deal of meat, butter, cheese, fish, train and pelts; but these commodities seem to have been fetched by foreign vessels, though navigation was not neglected by them; for they not only sailed from Iceland and Norway to Greenland, in their own ships, but the first discovery of and navigation to North America, is ascribed to them; and, perhaps a brief relation of this curious piece of history will not be unentertaining. It is given by Mallet, in his *Introduction à l'histoire de Denemarck*, and by Pontoppidan, in his *History of Norway*, transcribed by them from the Iceland historians, Jonas and Torfæus, confirmed by the testimony of the ancient historiographer, Adam Brementis, who wrote in the middle of the eleventh century, and consequently at the time of the discovery.

An Icelander, named Herjolf, went every year by sea, to traffic in several countries, accompanied by his son, Biærn. Once, in the year 1001, they were separated from each other by storm, and Biærn, arriving in Norway, got intelligence that his father had sailed to Greenland, a place then but little known; he accordingly followed him, but being driven by another storm to the south-west, discovered a flat champaign, overgrown with wood, and on his return, described
also

also an island. He did not make any stay at either of these places, but, when the storm ceased, made the best of his way north-west to Greenland. This discovery being made known, Leif, the son of Eric, ambitious of acquiring fame, like his father, by discovering and colonizing new countries, fitted out a ship, with thirty-five men, and went to sea with Biærn. The first land they made was stony and barren, and they gave it the name of *Helleland*, that is, flat, bare land. They next discovered a low country with white sand, covered with some wood, which they called *Mark-land*, or level land. Two days afterwards they saw land again, whose northern coast was sheltered by an island. Here they found shrubs bearing a sweet berry, and sailed up a river, till they came to a lake, from which the river issued. The air was mild, the soil fruitful, and the river swarmed with all sorts of fishes, particularly large salmon. Having continued there during the winter, and found that the sun rose about eight o'clock in the shortest days, it is evident the place must have been in the 49th degree of latitude, and to be that of Newfoundland, or the river St. Lawrence, in Canada.

Having been long enough there to erect some huts, they missed a German mariner, whom, after a long search they found in the wood, skipping and very merry. On being asked what made him so cheerful, he replied, that he had met with and eaten such grapes, as people made wine of in his country. When Leif saw and tasted these grapes, he called his new country *Viinland*, that is, Wineland. The ensuing spring, they went back to Greenland. When Thorwald, Leif's brother, with a view of carrying the discoveries farther, sailed thither the same year, with Leif's crew, he traced the land westward, and the summer following eastward: the coast was every where covered with timber-trees, and beset with islands; but as the ship had received some damage, they were obliged to spend most of their time in repairing her.

Having repaired their vessel, they examined the east side of the land, and perceived three small boats, covered with skins, and three men in each, all of whom, but one, they seized, and wantonly put to death. Not one escaped. Sometime after, a great number of the same kind of men in their boats assaulted them, but they defended themselves so well from their arrows, behind the boards with which their ships were guarded, that the savages were forced to fly. They called these Indians *Skrælings*, that is, dwarfs; and Jonas, writing after Myritius, calls them *pygmæos bicubitales*, and says, they were found also on the west side of Greenland. He describes these men as having so little strength, that there was nothing

to fear from them; yet Thorwald, and he alone, fell by one of their arrows. He ordered his people to set up a cross at the head and foot of the grave, (on which account that cape was called *Krossa-nefs*), by which it appears, that Thorwald was a christian as well as his brother Leif. The rest of the Greenlanders, Icelanders, and especially the Norwegians, that resorted, from time to time, to Wineland, were probably heathens, who would rather live in a strange land than embrace the christian religion, which, at that time, was propagated in Norway, with severity. Thorwald's companions wintered in Wineland, and next spring returned to Greenland.

The same year, Thorstein, the third son of Eric, with his wife and children, (in all twenty five persons,) sailed for Wineland. His chief design was to bring away his brother's body; but he was driven by a storm on the west coast of Greenland, at a great distance from any of the Norwegian settlements. There he took up his winter quarters, but he and some of his followers lost their lives by an epidemic sickness.

Settling a colony in Wineland, was, from this time more seriously thought of. An eminent Icelfander, named Thorfein, married Thorstein's widow, and went with her and others, in number sixty-five men and five women, to Wineland. They took with them all kinds of cattle, tools, &c. and began to build and to plant. The *Skrællings* soon found them out and bartered with them their skins and their furs, desirous of having some of their weapons in exchange: but, Thorfein forbade it. One of them, however, stole a battle-axe, and was stupid enough to try it on his comrade; but his curiosity having cost the other his life, a third seized the weapon and cast it into the sea.

Three years after this, Thorfein returned to Greenland, and brought with him such valuable merchandize, that he excited in many a desire to seek their fortune in Wineland; but, no farther account of this country, worth mentioning, is to be met with after the year 1121; that is, one hundred years after its first discovery. It is probable, that those Indians, at present about Newfoundland, who are so very different in shape and manner of living from the other Americans, may be descended from them.

I shall take this opportunity, says Crantz, to speak of the extraction of our present Greenlanders, who, were formerly called *Skrællings*. The Greenlanders say, they were called by the former Christian inhabitants, *Karallit*, a name the *Eskimaux* Indians, or northern Americans, gave themselves

and a term, which, according to their manner of pronunciation, may be turned into *Karallit*.

There being no satisfactory footsteps of Greenland's having been inhabited before the arrival of the Norwegians; the most probable supposition is, that the present savages first came to Greenland in the 14th century, and that their route was not from the east out of Europe, but from the west out of Greenland; for the native Greenlanders bear no resemblance to the Laplanders, or the people of Spitzbergen, but resemble most the Kalmucks of Tartary. There seems to be no open passage for shipping, beyond 80 degrees north; for Lord Mulgrave, in his voyage to explore the parts about the north pole, could penetrate no farther, in the summer months, than to about the 80th degree, all beyond appearing to be an extensive plain of ice, of an enormous thickness. This being the case, the Greenlanders must have originated from the eastern parts of Tartary, through the northern parts of America; and indeed, the language of the Eskimaux Indians in Labrador, and that of the native Greenlanders is so much alike, as also their persons, customs, manners, &c. that it is scarce to be doubted, but that the Greenlanders are a branch of the Eskimaux Indians, who fled either across Davis's Straits, which are barely 60 leagues wide, or else travelled up higher to the top of Baffin's bay; where, by the stone guide-posts, it is supposed that the land joins.

It may be asked, perhaps, what became of the Norwegians, who are allowed formerly to have inhabited Greenland. A plague which raged in all the northern countries in the year 1350, called the *black death*, is supposed to have made great ravage in Greenland, and many corroborating circumstances evince, that those who survived this pestilence, were slaughtered by the savage Skräellings.

As the land is covered almost every where with ice and snow, all the year round; so is the sea, in which are a variety of ice mountains, or pieces of floating ice of stupendous magnitude and form, some of them wearing the appearance of a church or castle, with square or pointed turrets; others, resembling a ship in full sail; others again, large islands, with plains, vallies and hills, rearing their heads two hundred yards above the level of the ocean.

This ice, like glass, is for the most part hard, clear and transparent, some pieces of a pale green colour, others of a sky blue; some grey and others black. In many places they are an obstruction to the navigation. In others, during the whale-fishery, seamen moor their ships to them, and on their flat surfaces, frequently unload their train barrels. A missionary,

sionary, a man of veracity, told the historian of Greenland*, that in Diskobay, on a ground which the whale-fishers say is three hundred fathoms deep, several such ice-mountains have stood fast for many years, one of which they call the city Hearlem, and another, Amsterdam. Sometimes they fasten their ships to them, and unload their train barrels on the flat ice.

When these immense masses of ice are examined nearly, they are found to be incorporated with earth, stones, and brush-wood, which were washed off by the rain from the hillocks (that peep out still above the ice), and so were immured in the ice. Nay a celebrated naturalist † asserts, from a voyage of the Dutch into the North Seas, that people have found not only earth, but nests with birds-eggs embosomed in such a piece of ice. Some of these pieces have a thick crust of salt water frozen upon them, through their lying many years on some shallow sea-beach, where after the sun had thawed away a good deal of the upper part, they became lighter, and floated again. These lumps of ice, some little, and some large, are seen in numbers in the bays of Davis's Straits, but mostly in the spring time, after a violent storm, when twenty or thirty pieces come driving out, and then in again, one after another. Some of them lie awhile on the shallow shore, and partly dissolve, partly are set afloat again, by the tide or floods, and driven out to sea; till at last they are either softened, and dashed to pieces by the continual washing of the waves, or are driven by the stream farther south, on the coasts of Newfoundland or Nova-Scotia, and there entirely melted by the warmth of the sun.

Martens, in his voyage to Spitzberg, says that there lie such great pieces of ice there at the foot of the hills, as are higher than the hills themselves. There are particularly seven such mountains of ice all in a row between the rocks. They are blue, full of clefts and cavities made by the rain, and are powdered with snow on the top, by the melting and freezing again of which they are every year augmented. This ice is more solid than the driving ice, and displays a variety of curious figures agreeable to the eye. Many pieces look like trees with branches, and the flakes of snow that fall upon them, appear to the fancy like leaves. Some of them are formed like a church, with pinnacles on the top, and pillars, windows, arches and doors on the sides, and the blue-coloured rays darting outwards from within, have a most beautiful effect.

According to the citation of Buffon, out of *Waser's*

* Crantz.

† Buffon.

voyages, there are pieces of ice towards the south pole, particularly about the southermost point of America, near Terra del Fuego, which the sailors at first took to be islands; they computed them to be from one to two French leagues long, and four or five hundred feet high. Ellis found pieces in Hudson's-bay, five or six hundred yards thick*. Baffin also measured such a piece, and found the part that lifted its head above the water, to be one hundred and forty feet high, and yet it was but the seventh part; from whence the dimensions of the entire piece might be estimated. Nay, there are said to be some ice-islands near Nova-Zembla, that stretch above one hundred fathoms out of the water.

Where and how these enormous ice-mountains coagulate, disengage themselves, and then enlarge, it is hard to say with any certainty, yet conjectures may be made from parallel cases. Some imagine they take their rise from sea-water that freezes in the bays down to the bottom; that they are forced off by a rapid flood, when the snow melts in the spring; that they are augmented by the mists and rains, which directly congeal to ice, and at last are waisted into the sea by a high wind. But this cannot be; for, not to alledge that the sea-water very seldom freezes more than a few yards deep, and even in the smallest and stillest coves never to the bottom, or else the Greenlanders could not fish in the ice; without insisting on this, I say, it is a certain confutation of the above hypothesis, that these pieces of ice are not salt like the sea-water, but sweet, and therefore can be formed no where but in rivers, mountains and hills, and in large caverns of the rocks.

The mountains are not only so high, that the snow, especially what falls on the north side, is not so liable to melt as in the vallies, and turns instantly to ice in the night; but they also contain clefts and cavities where the sun seldom or ever visits with his cheering beams: besides, there are projections, or landing places, on the declivities of the steepest hills, where the rain and snow-water lodges and congeals to ice. When now the accumulated flakes of snow slide down, or fall with the rain from eminences above, on these shelves, or here and there an elve or mountain-spring comes rolling down to such a lodging-place, where the ice has already seated itself, they all freeze and add their tribute to it. This by degrees waxes to a body of ice, that can no more be overpowered by the sun, and which, though it may indeed at certain seasons diminish by a thaw, yet upon the whole, through annual acquisitions, assumes an annual growth. Such a body

* See his voyage to Hudson's-bay.

of ice is often prominent far over the rocks; it does not melt on the surface, but underneath, and cracks into many larger or smaller clefts, from whence the thawed water trickles out; by which it becomes at last so weak, that, being overloaded with its own ponderous weight, it breaks loose, and tumbles down the rocks, with a mighty rattle and crash; and where it happened to hang over a precipice, it plunges into the bays in huge pieces, with a shock like thunder, and with such an agitation of the water, as will overset a boat a good way off; and many a poor Greenlander, coasting without concern along the shore, has lost his life by it.

The great pieces of ice that do not fall directly into the water, but rest upon some abutment in the mountains, are enlarged by the snow-water, and at the same time mixed with earth, stones and shrubs washed off from the hills; which enlargement and mixture, those lumps may also undergo that freeze in the bays, and may lie many years increasing till they are rent by a storm. Thus we need not so much wonder at their height and thickness.

As in sailing through these seas, the ice mountains may be avoided, they are attended with no great danger: the flat, driving ice, however, is terrible. Greenlanders assure us, that on the eastern side of this country, tracts of ice have been seen two hundred leagues long, and in many parts from sixty to eighty leagues broad, and three or four yards in thickness; and, that such pieces will float and drive with the winds and currents. Where there is no opening made by the wind and stream, one piece follows another so close, that a person may leap from one to another without danger, and may plainly see the joints where they were broken off. A celebrated navigator * was so hemmed in by the ice, that at one time, he despaired of getting his ship out, and had absolutely determined to take to his boats, designing to draw them over the ice into more open water, and this in the month of August; hence it appears, that the Greenlanders are so beset at certain seasons as to find no passage out, nor European ships any passage in.

How the ice fields are formed cannot be easily answered, till we have a more satisfactory account of what is called the *Icy Sea*. In Davis's Straits the sea cannot freeze even in the bays, on account of the continual agitation of the waters, by the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and the winds waving on the surface. The small quantity of ice that gathers between the narrow passages of the islands, and in the creeks that are sheltered from the wind, even in the great Disko-bay, soon

vanishes again, or is driven by the streams to the coast of America. The shoals of ice come from the east side of Greenland with the stream. But even there, the Greenlanders say, there is no fixed, but only floating ice. Where ice is generated, there must be land for it to fasten on at first; then it can stretch itself farther by degrees, though after all it does not reach far into the open sea any where. If we were to imagine that there was land under the pole, and to suppose that the sea froze there in some great calm bay, and that in summer such a great plain of ice was dislevered by the thaw, and driven out by storms, yet the experience of some navigators, quoted by Buffon, clashes with it. He says, that Captain Monson, an Englishman, who tried to find a north-east passage towards the pole, failed within two degrees of it, and found no ice there. A Dutch mariner gave out that he had sailed round the pole, and found it as warm there as in Amsterdam. An English seamen, Captain Goulden, assured king Charles II. that two Dutch ships, finding no whales at Spitzberg, separated from him; that they came back again in a fortnight, and told him, confirming it by their journals, that they had sailed as far as the eighty-ninth degree, where they found no ice.

Therefore one would rather suppose, that part of the floating ice comes from the many and great rivers that pour themselves out of Great Tartary into the Icy-sea; and this is the fresh-water ice, that rears itself aloft in the plains of ice: the other, and the greatest part, annually breaks off from the shores of Tartary, Nova Zembla, Spitzberg, and especially the east side of Greenland, and is driven together by the wind and the streams that run in different directions in those waters, till it falls into the regular current on the east side, which conveys it between Iceland and Greenland round Statenhook, and some of it, perhaps, through Forbisher's straits under the ice, and so into Davis's straits as far up as the sixth-fifth degree, where it is carried by a contrary stream to the American coasts, and so southward till the sun dissolves it.

With the inconveniencies of the climate however, the wise Author of Nature hath combined a great benefit; for, though he hath denied this frigid and rocky region the growth of trees, and almost forbidden ships to bring them any fuel, he has ordained, that the streams of the ocean should convey to these inhospitable shores, a great deal of wood, which comes floating there, partly without ice, but chiefly with it, lodging itself between the islands. Were it not for this miraculous provision, the Europeans there settled, would have no wood to burn; nor the Greenlanders, (who burn
oil

oil instead of wood), any timber to roof their houses, build their boats, or shaft their arrows, which procure them food and clothing. Among this wood brought here accidentally, are great trees torn up by the roots; which, by driving up and down for years, dashing and rubbing upon the ice, are quite bare of branches and bark, and corroded with great wood-worms. A small part of this drift wood, are willows, alder and birch, driven from the bays in the south, and large trunks of aspen-trees, which must come from a greater distance; but the greatest part is pine and fir.

It is difficult to decide from what country this wood proceeds: but it is supposed to come with the easterly current from Siberia, or Asiatic Tartary; where the trees must be washed down the mountains, by the waters which the rains and floods occasion, and brought away by the rapid streams of their rivers.

C H A P. XXI.

Productions of the Soil in Greenland—Land Animals—Whales, Seals, and other Fishes.

THIS country being covered with everlasting snow, it must naturally be very cold and raw. In such places in winter, where the inhabitants enjoy the sun for an hour or two in the day, the cold is tolerable, but where the sun is below the horizon, whilst people are drinking tea, the emptied cup, when put down will freeze to the table. Paul Egede, in his journal of January 7th, 1738, says, that in latitude sixty-eight degrees, when he was there, the ice and hoar-frost reached through the chimney to the stove's mouth, without being thawed by the fire, even in the day-time; so that over the chimney was an arch of frost, with little holes, through which the smoke issued. The door and walls of his room were as if plastered over with ice, and what is scarce credible, linen froze in the drawers, the beds were frozen to the bedsteads, and the eider-down coverlid and pillows became quite stiff with frost, an inch thick, from the breath. They were obliged to hew their flesh-barrels in pieces to get out the meat, and though they thawed it in snow, when it was put over the fire, the outside would be sufficiently

sufficiently boiled, before the inside could be pierced with a knife.

The summer in Greenland, is from the beginning of May to the end of September; during which five months, the natives encamp in tents; yet the ground is not mellowed by a thorough thaw till June; and then only on the surface; nor does it cease snowing till this time. In August it begins snowing again; but no snow continues on the ground, till that which falls in October. The snow in August is either soon dissolved by the sun, or dispersed by the wind, in which last case, the wind scatters such a subtile snow dust, that one scarce dare put one's head out of doors. In the longest summer days, particularly in serene and clear weather, it is so hot that people are not only obliged to throw off their warmer garments, but on the sea the pitch will melt on the ship's side. And from April to August, the fogs are so thick, almost every day, that people cannot see forty yards before them. It has been often remarked, that the weather in Greenland is just the reverse of what it is in Europe. In the year 1763, when it was so remarkably cold throughout Europe; it was so mild in Greenland, that it is often colder here in summer.

In general, the air is so wholesome and pure, that if a man cloaths himself warm, eats moderately and takes good exercise, he will enjoy a good state of health and spirits. The winds are as variable here as in other countries; but, when it once begins to be stormy, which happens mostly in autumn; they rage so vehemently that the houses shake and crack, tents, and the lighter boats fly up into the air, and the sea-water scatters about on the land, like snow-dust. When any one is obliged to leave his house, in order to put his boats into shelter, he must creep upon his belly, lest the wind should take him off his legs.

There is no night at all in this country, during the summer; beyond the 66th degree north, in the longest days, the sun does not set; it shines not, however, with such lustre, at night as at noon, resembling only a very bright moon, which a man can look at without being dazzled. On the other hand, the winter nights are so much the longer, and in the 67th degree, the face of the sun is never seen above the horizon from Nov. 30, to Jan. 12. And yet there are no dark nights here, as in other countries: the inhabitants enjoy a moderate twilight, and the moon and stars, added to the snow and ice, give such a light, that people can do very well out of doors without a lantern, and see plainly to read print of a middle size. As in the shortest days, sometimes

the moon never sets, so, little is seen of it in the summer-time, and the stars never appear from May to August.

From the situation and nature of Greenland, *the productions of the soil* must be very inconsiderable. Though the bodies of rocks near the sea, yield a great deal of coarse marble, and many of the hills a kind of asbestos, or stone-flax, yet their surface produces little. The vallies, in general, have no other herbage than moss and four moor-grass; and the uninhabited islands, where the birds build their nests, furnish only a few low shrubs, heath and herbs: the land, however, near the Greenland houses and encampments, from many years cultivation, with the blood and fat of seals, though in itself, nothing but a barren sand, produces the finest herbs, in uncommon quantity and size.

Grass grows here, not only in fenny, sandy and turfy ground, where indeed it is in general very short and bad; but also in the clefts of rocks, where any earth has lodged: and especially near the houses, where it grows very thick and long. Moss is the chief produce; of which, says Crantz, when I have been sitting on a rock, I have counted near twenty sorts round me without rising; one sort is like a soft thick fur, which the natives use, as we do waste paper, and also to stop the crevices of their houses. Another sort serves them for tinder and wicks for lamps. They have also a kind of white moss, on which the rein-deer feed in winter, and which, in cases of necessity, would preserve the life of a hungry man. There is another kind of moss, that serves them instead of bread, being occasionally boiled with milk, as a substitute for oatmeal. Europeans have several times attempted to grow barley and oats: these will shoot up as fine and high as in our country, but seldom get into ear, and never ripen, on account of the early frosts, even in the warmest places. As the season will not admit of sowing, till the middle of June, they cannot raise many vegetables. Radishes grow as well here as in most other countries, but sallad and cole are very small, and will not bear transplanting.

Whortleberries and cranberries are here met with, and a fruit, like the mulberry, only yellow instead of red; these last are packed up and exported, are a very refreshing delicacy, and a remedy for the scurvy. There are plenty of large juniper-berries, but they are held in no estimation. Of trees, there are three kinds of willows, but the cold will not suffer them to rear their heads, obliging them to creep upon the ground. Their birch, (though somewhat different from ours) is in the same predicament. The Greenlanders talk of alders, that grow in the southern parts, twice the height of a man,

a man, and as big round as his leg; and say, that the wild service-tree grows there in abundance, and brings its fruit to maturity. They also speak of a wild pea, which they boil and eat, and mention a fruit resembling our large yellow plum, which they compare to oranges; but, the farther we go north, the more naked and sterile is the land, till at last, nothing is to be met with, but bare rocks.

Unfruitful, however, as this land is, it affords nourishment to some, though but to very few *kinds of beasts*, which supply the natives with food and raiment. Hares and rein-deer they have in plenty, but more of the former than the latter. Hares are white both in summer and winter, are pretty large, live on grass and white moss, but are little regarded by the natives.

Their rein-deer are of that northern kind which are met with in Spitzberg, Siberia, Norway, Lapland, and the northern parts of America. They are here wild, and not easily caught. The largest are about the size of a two-year old heifer; their colour brown or grey, with white bellies: their skin very thick of hair, and above an inch long. Their antlers differ only from those of the common buck, in being smooth, grey, and broad as one's hand at top. Their flesh is tender and well tasted. They are very cleanly and contented creatures, live in summer on the tender grass they find in the vallies; and in winter, on the white moss, which they dig for, under the snow between the rocks. A Greenlander once caught a young one, bred it up, and it grew as tame as a cow, but, having done some mischief he was obliged to kill it.

Here are also foxes, but somewhat different from those of southern countries. Some are white, but in general, they are blue or grey; they bark like a dog, and resemble one about the head and feet; live on birds and their eggs, upon berries, muscles, crabs, and what the sea casts out. The natives catch them in traps, and if in want of food, would rather eat them than hares. Blue fox-skins are eagerly bought up by the factors.

White bears, so often heard of, are frequently met with in all parts of Greenland; they have a long narrow head, like a dog, and are said to bark like one. Their hair is long and as soft as wool. Their bodies are often three or four yards in length; their flesh is white and flat, tastes like mutton, and the natives are very fond of it. They prowl upon the flakes of ice after seals and dead whales, and will attack the sea-lion, though this creature frequently masters them. They will swim from one piece of ice to another, and when attacked, will defend themselves even against a boat full of men. When on land, their food is birds and their eggs, and if im-

pelled by hunger, they will devour the human species, digging dead bodies out of their graves. In winter, they immure themselves in holes between the rocks, or bury themselves in the snow, till the sun invites them abroad again; when, allured by the scent of seal's flesh, they will hunt out a Greenland-house, break into it and plunder it. The natives in their turn raise a hue-and-cry after the robbers; surround them with their dogs, and kill them with lances and harpoons, though they often lose their own lives in the assault.

Here are no tame beasts, except dogs of a middle size, which resemble more a wolf than a dog, not barking, but howling and growling. They are too stupid animals to be of much use in hunting, but are harnessed as horses to a sledge, from four to ten at a time, in which the natives visit each other, or draw home their seals over the ice. Their skins are used as coverings to beds, and as ornamental borders to their garments.

Of land-birds, there is no great variety, because there is little food for them. The principal is the northern partridge, such as frequents cold countries and the Alps. In Switzerland they are called snow-hens. They cast their feathers twice a year. The cocks are of a grey colour in summer, and, during winter, of the colour of snow; a wise precaution of Providence, to preserve them from birds of prey which hunt after them, and but for this circumstance would readily find them. It is a good bird to eat and easily caught. Their claws have, within, a thick ball covered with small feathers, to enable them to endure the cold, and, as their toes are not divided the whole way up, they are capable of swimming. Here are also snipes, and some small singing birds; and, of birds of prey, the great dark-brown eagle, grey and spotted falcons, white owls, and ravens.

Destitute, however, as the land is of living creatures, the riches of the sea make it up as well in variety as multitude. The many kinds of sea-fowls are too numerous to mention here, unless we were writing the natural history of the place. Indeed, they are not peculiar to Greenland, but are found in most of the higher latitudes. Having mentioned several of them in the description of Norway, it is only necessary here to take notice of the eider-fowl or black duck, its down being a profitable article of commerce. Its flesh is eaten by the Greenlanders, and of its skin they make their finest and their warmest under-garments: this fowl is, however, most celebrated for its valuable down, which is found in great quantities, when stripped of its coarse feathers. As the down when pulled from the dead bird is apt to heat by lying,

lying, and will not swell and distend itself rightly, they contrive to procure it from the fowl whilst living; for this purpose they visit the nests which the tender mother lines with this soft substance, either dropped or plucked from her body, to prepare a warm bed for her callow brood. Of this down we have warm light coverlids in England.

Of the most profitable fishes, the north is the proper rendezvous and residence; where, under the ice, they find shelter from the whales that prey on them; whales being frequently obliged to rise above water, to draw breath, cannot follow their prey far under the ice. Here then they retreat, breed and fatten; but, in order to make them subservient to the use of man, the Wise Creator has ordained that they shall annually make their way southward. We see this particularly in herrings. Some cause unknown to man, drives them out in innumerable shoals, like swarms of bees. As they advance, they are chased by the cod, the mackerel and other fish of prey, and these in their turn are hunted by the seals and whales, and obliged to fly to the shallowest sand-bank for protection, where the larger fishes cannot follow them; and, where they are caught by fishermen. These seas not only yield herrings, salmon, cod-fish, &c. but flounders, holibut, a variety of shell-fish, and some small fishes peculiar to this latitude.

Though the *whale* is almost universally known, it would be unpardonable, in treating of Greenland, not to give some account of this animal and its fishery, which employs so many ships yearly of different nations, no less than three hundred or three hundred and fifty, (each ship having from five to seven long-boats) and that in compass of two degrees, from the seventy-seventh to the seventy-ninth. These ships sometimes catch from one thousand eight hundred to two thousand whales in the space of two months, not reckoning the wounded ones that escape.

The Greenland whale, by English sailors called the black whale, is described in *Marten's voyage to Spitzberg and Zor-drager's Greenland fishery*, to be from fifty to eighty feet long. They were formerly from one hundred to two hundred feet in length, but being now caught in such multitudes, have not time to grow to their full size. The head is a third part of the length of the whole body; it has only two fins, one on each side of the head, from five to eight feet long, but with these it rows along very fast. Its tail is six or eight yards broad, and turning up at both ends in a curve, is enabled with it to dash the strongest boat in pieces; it is, however, a timid animal, never beginning an attack, but flying at the least alarm. Its skin above is commonly black

and smooth like velvet, and white underneath. On the head is a bunch, where are two nostrils, through which it breathes and spouts out the water it takes in at its mouth, with a noise that can be heard at three miles distance; its eyes are placed between its nostrils and fins, and have eye-lids that drop over them, and are not larger than those of an ox. It has no flaps to its ears, nor any teeth in its mouth, but contains in its upper jaw, which is six yards long, those barders, blades or whiskers, as they are called, of which we make the whale-bone. There are commonly three hundred and fifty on each side, but the fifty largest only are taken. They hang like the pipes of an organ, the least before and behind, the longest in the middle, which are generally four yards in length. The tongue consists wholly of a soft fungous fat, like bacon, which will fill from five to seven large barrels. This fish brings forth its young like a quadruped, full formed, generally one at a time, but never more than two, which it suckles; when pursued, it wraps up its young in its fins, close to its body. Whales have two skins, the inner an inch thick, the outer one as thin as parchment; under these lies the fat, from six to twelve inches thick; about the under lip it is two feet in thickness. The fat of the whale will, according to the size of the fish, fill from one hundred to three hundred barrels. Its flesh is coarse and is said to taste like beef. Greenlanders eat the part about the tail, and call it a delicacy. Its bones are hard, on the inside full of holes, like a honey-comb, and filled with train-oil.

One would suppose, that this enormous beast would require a great many large fishes for one meal's food; but its swallow being scarce four inches broad, it lives chiefly on a white slime, swimming on the sea, called whales-food; but which, in fact, is an animal wearing that appearance. This it sucks up, by a strong suction, and as a great deal of water flows in with it, the animal blows out the water again at its nostrils. This slime being found in the greatest quantity between Spitzberg, Nova Zembla, and Greenland, where it floats in such abundance that the creeks are as full of it as our ditches with insects, the whale rarely emigrates from these parts.

The manner of catching whales is as follows:—When a whale is seen or heard, a long boat with six men in it (for there are always five or six such boats ready) makes up to it and endeavours to approach its side, near the head. The whale, finding itself pursued, dives, but rising again to breathe, which it is constrained to do, the men watch the opportunity, row up to its side and the harpooner strikes him usually near the fin, with a harpoon, (a triangular barbed iron, about a
foot

Manner of catching Whales.

foot long, and fastened to a stem). The fish no sooner feels the smart, than it darts down into the deep, with the harpoon sticking fast in it. To this harpoon is fastened a line two hundred yards long and about as thick as one's finger, which runs with such rapidity after the whale, that if it entangles itself, it must either snap short or overset the boat: it is one man's business, therefore, to attend to this line and wet the place on the boat's edge, on which it runs, lest it should take fire. The boat, with the line, follows the whale as far as it can, and if the fish is not mortally wounded, it will flounce about the deep for an hour and draw a line of four thousand yards after it; in which case, fresh line is added by other boats. If the fish comes up again alive, they strike it with fresh harpoons, and then kill it with lances. When dead, it rises to the surface of the water, with its belly upwards. Should it retreat under the ice, they either pull away the harpoon or cut the line; in which case they lose the fish, a loss amounting to 200*l.* that being its average value. The whale, being dead, is towed up to the ship's side, and there fastened. The first business then is to go with a boat into its jaws, and cut out the whale-bone. They next cut off the blubber from the tongue, and then proceed to strip the whole body of its fat, beginning at the head and tail at once, and ending in the middle. Forty or fifty men stand on the fish for this purpose, and will strip it in four hours. With the loss of its fat the fish loses its buoyant faculty, and, when turned adrift, down goes the carcase into the deep, with the general and joyful huzza of the whole crew; in a few days, it bursts and rises again, and its vast stock of flesh is a profuse feast to fishes, birds, and bears.

This is the European mode of whale-fishing, but that of the Greenlanders is somewhat different. The women assist in this business, their employ being to row the boats and mend the seamen's jackets. When they see a fish they row boldly up to it, and strike it with several harpoons, to which are hung large bladders, made of seals' skin, which so incumber and impede the motion of the animal, that he cannot dive deep. When tired out, they dispatch him with their lances. The men then creep into their sea or spring-jackets, which are made of seals' skin with air-bladders, and cover their feet, hands and head, all in one piece, being fastened tight about the head. In these they leap, fearless, upon the fish and into the sea, the air in their jackets keeping them erect in the water. They next proceed, as do the Europeans, to cut out the fat and whale-bone. And here the multitude are very disorderly, all running promiscuously in a heap, men, women, and children, one over another, with sharp-pointed knives, (for

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every

every one though a spectator only, may share in dividing the spoil), and it is wonderful, how careful they are in all this scramble, not to wound one another.

The *seal* also is a native of the north-seas, is an amphibious animal, with four feet, and called, in many places, the sea-calf or sea-wolf: it has a rough hairy hide, and is used by us to cover travelling trunks; its head pretty much resembles that of a dog, with the ears cropt, having a small aperture for the ear, but no flaps: its body in the middle is bulky, but runs out pointed towards each end, for the convenience of making better way through the water. It has two short feet before standing downwards perpendicularly, and two others behind in a horizontal direction, with webbed toes, like those of a goose. The water is its natural element, as it lives upon fish; but having long nails in its fore-feet, it can climb the rocks and is often upon land. Its cry is like a wild swine, and the young ones mew like a cat. It has sharp teeth and large fiery eyes with eye-brows.

Seals are often found on the ice and land, basking or sleeping in the sun, and though they have a lame gait or walk, can pad along so fast, and, by means of their hind feet, spring forward so quick, that a man cannot easily come up with them. They are taken for their fat and skins. Their fat, which is near four inches thick, is converted into train-oil, and their flesh is red, tender and juicy, resembling, in taste, that of a wild hog.

There are five or six species of seals, some two yards and some three yards in length. I have seen one, says Crantz; called a sea-cow, of the seal species, six yards in length and near as much in circumference over the breast. This creature weighed four hundred pounds; and as its eyes, on pressing the skin, sprung out a finger's length, it is supposed the animal could throw them out and draw them in for shelter at pleasure.

Seals, in general, yield a great deal of blubber, and the train that drops from it is not more rancid than stale oil of olives; and with their skins the Greenlanders frequently make their waistcoats. They cannot easily be caught by a single person, unless when they are oig with young and of course helpless; but as they are animals of passage, retiring from Greenland in March, to cast their young, and returning in June, young and all, like a flock of sheep, the seal-hunters endeavour, on their return, to surround them on the ice, where they often lie sleeping in whole herds. They first frighten them by shouting, which occasions them to stretch out their necks and yell, at which time the catchers take the oppor-

opportunity to stun them by giving them a desperate blow on their noses ; after which they kill and flay them.

To the Greenlanders the seal-fishery is their best harvest. Seals' flesh, with that of the rein-deer, is their most delicious and substantial food ; the fat supplies their lamps and fires with oil, softens their dry food, and by barter furnishes them with all the necessaries of life. Of the fibres of seals' sinews they make thread ; the transparent skins of their entrails serve them for windows, curtains for their tents, shirts, and those bladders they fix to their harpoons ; and of the maw, they make train-bottles. When there is a scarcity of iron, they make instruments and tools of their bones ; their blood, with other ingredients, they convert into soups, and make their clothes, bedding and boats of their skins. Catching seals, therefore, is the great end of Greenland education ; to which the children are trained from their infancy, by which they maintain themselves, become agreeable to each other and useful members of society.

They have two kinds of boats for this purpose, a large one, and a small one. The large one, they call *Umiack*, or the woman's boat, and the small one, *Kaiak*. The woman's boat is from twelve to eighteen yards in length, four or five feet wide and three deep ; the other about six yards long, eighteen inches broad, and barely twelve inches deep ; they are flat-bottomed, widest in the middle, go off sharp at each end, and are covered with seal-skin. The large boats are open at the top and are commonly rowed by four women ; one steering with an oar behind. In the fore-part is a mast with a sail made of seal-gut skin, six feet high and nine feet wide. The wealthy Greenlanders make this sail of white linen with red stripes ; and though they can with this sail make way only before the wind, and cannot keep pace with an European boat under sail, yet they can row them faster and often make voyages along the coast from two to four hundred leagues north and south, with their tents, household furniture, all their property, and often ten or twenty persons besides. The men accompany them in their *Kaiaks*, and assist them when they need it. They thus travel at the rate of twelve leagues a day, and every night unload, pitch their tents, draw their boat ashore, and stay till the next morning.

The *Kaiak* is covered on the top, having a round hole in the middle, into which the Greenlander slips with his feet, sitting on a board covered with a soft skin : when he is seated, the rim of the hole reaches just above his hips, and he tucks his great water-coat in, between the boat and himself, so tight, that the water cannot penetrate ; this coat being, at the same time, buttoned close about his face and body, the
man

man and his boat are, as it were, one mass. At his side he places his lance and harpoon, and behind him the seal-skin bladder. His *pautik* or oar, (for he has but one) is made of red deal, round in the middle and three fingers broad at each end. This he holds in the middle with both hands, and strikes the water on each side very quick, and as regular as if beating time. Thus equipped he goes out to fish, and, if expedition requires it, can row twenty or twenty-four leagues a day. In these *kaiaks*, they fear no storms, can mount the boisterous billows like a piece of cork, and, should a wave break over them, are unconcerned; for they accustom themselves, by way of exercise, to overturn themselves in the water, so as that their heads shall hang perpendicularly down, and with a swing and stroke with their paddle, set their boat to rights again in an instant.

When a Greenlander spies a seal, he endeavours to conceal himself behind a wave, till he is within ten or twelve yards of it, in order to take him by surprise. Having his lance, harpoon, and tackle ready, as soon as within reach, he casts the harpoon; and, if he hits his mark, the seal, feeling himself wounded, dives; dragging the bladder, which is fastened by a string to the harpoon, under water with him, though from its size, he finds it difficult so to do; but, as the animal must come up every quarter of an hour to breathe, he soon grows weary of diving, is followed by the Greenlander and pierced with a lance as he rises. When killed, the wound is stopped to preserve the blood. This done the seal-catcher perforates the skin, blows up the animal like a bladder, to make it buoyant, and takes it in tow.

In this exercise, he is exposed to great danger, for should the line which fastens the bladder to the harpoon, and which is of some length, entangle itself with the *Kaiak*, the boat must be drawn down under water; nay, should he escape this danger, if he approaches too near the dying seal, it will bite him mortally. A female seal that has young, will often fly at its enemy with fury, or bite a hole in the boat and sink it.

It is the stupid species of seal which the Greenlander can thus take without assistance. Other seals are caught by companies of fishermen. At certain seasons they retire into creeks and inlets. These the Greenlanders cut off their retreat, and frighten them under water by shouting, clapping and throwing stones. When they come up to draw breath, they assail them again in the same manner, till they tire them out, that they can dive no longer. They are then surrounded and killed. This mode of catching them is called *kassigiak* or clapper-hunt; it is not bad sport, and the Greenlanders are very active and expert at it. If a seal has good broad water, three

or

or four leagues each way, it can keep the hunters in play for two hours, diving and rising again at the distance of three quarters of a mile. Should it in its fright take to the land, it is there attacked by women and children.

They are often caught also on the ice, many being killed, whilst sleeping and snoring in the sun; and, in the spring time, where the current makes a great hole in the ice, the Greenlanders will often station themselves round it, and, when the seals come in droves to the edge of this hole to breathe, kill them with their harpoons.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Natives of Greenland—Their Conduct in domestic Life—Their Civil Character—Their Language, Customs, Manners, and Religion.

THE Greenlanders are low of stature, not exceeding five feet in height, but they are well shaped and proportionate in their limbs. Their faces are generally broad and flat, with high cheek-bones like the Scots, but their cheeks are round and plump. It is a common observation, says Ellis, in his description of the Eskimaux Indians, that men as well as beasts, and the products of the ground, with some few exceptions, are smaller and smaller as they are more under the pole. Though there are large trees, he adds, growing at the bottom of Hudson's bay, there are nothing but shrubs in the sixty-first degree; and also that the people keep diminishing in stature, according to the higher latitude they live in, till the sixty-seventh degree, where there are no inhabitants at all.

The eyes of the Greenlanders are little and black, but without any animation, and their noses project but little from their faces. Their bodies are all over of a dark grey, but their faces are of an olive colour. As their children are born white, this grey tinge may proceed in part from their dirtiness, for they are continually handling train-oil and grease, sitting in the smoke, and seldom wash themselves; their food also may contribute to the same end; for their blood is so affected by it, that their sweat smells like train, and their hands feel clammy like bacon. But there are a few whose faces are not so round, and whose complexions are fairer, and might easily

easily pass undistinguished among the natives of Switzerland.

The hair on their heads is universally strong and long, and of a coal black colour, but the men have seldom any beard, as they take great pains to pluck it out. Their hands and feet are small and soft, but their head and limbs are large. They have high breasts and broad shoulders, especially the women, who accustom themselves to carry heavy burdens, and being fat and corpulent, can endure the cold with bare heads and necks, and very thin clothing: nay, they commonly sit naked within doors, except their breeches, and at this time, their bodies emit such a steam as to be intolerable to an European sitting near them. They are very light and active, and do not want for strength, and can endure great fatigues. A Greenlander, who has ate nothing but grass for three days, will manage his little canoe in the most boisterous sea; and, a woman will carry a rein-deer, whole, for the distance of four leagues, or a piece of timber, or stone, double the weight which any Englishman can lift.

With respect to their temper, they are of a phlegmatic nature, not very lively, but good-humoured, sociable and far from covetous: they are so little concerned for the future, as to hoard up nothing; of course are very liberal in giving. They are not apparently possessed of any high spirit, but have a good share of what we call rustic pride, and consider Europeans as far beneath them; esteeming themselves the only civilized and well-bred people. When they see a quiet and modest stranger, they say, "he is almost as well-bred as we;" they are not quarrelsome but patient, and draw back where any one encroaches on them; but, if pushed to extremes, become desperate in the greatest degree.

Though they are always busy about something, they are very fickle and have no perseverance; so that if they begin a thing and meet with a difficulty they throw it away. In summer-time they sleep five or six hours; in winter eight, and if they have worked hard and had a restless night, will sleep the whole ensuing day. In the morning, they will walk to some eminence, take a prospect of the weather and the ocean, and, if it appears unfavourable, will seem thoughtful and dejected, as at the dangers and burdens of the day; but when no difficulties rise before them, or when they return home from a successful fishery, they are cheerful and conversable.

They are so expert in concealing and suppressing their passions, that we might take them for Stoics; and they affect to be very resigned under any calamity; but it is all affectation,

tion, for no people are more irritable to anger, and more revengeful when an opportunity offers.

Their clothes are made of the skin of the rein-deer, seals and birds. Their outer-garment resembles a waggoner's frock, only not so long and loose, and they put it on the same way, drawing it over their heads like a shirt; at the top of it is a hood, which they can pull up occasionally over their heads, like the hood of a capuchin. Their under-garment is a kind of shirt, made of the skins of birds, with the feathers inwards. At present, most Greenlanders of any property, make their upper-garment of cloth or cotton, yet cut in their own fashion. Their breeches are of seals'-kin, and are very short above and below; their stockings are made of the skin of a seal's foetus, taken out of the body of the dam; and their shoes, of smooth black dressed seal-leather, tied with a thong on the instep. The soles of their shoes stand out bending upwards, both before and behind, two inches broad, but they have no heels. The rich natives now wear woollen stockings, breeches and caps, and when they make a voyage, cover themselves with a black smooth seals-hide, by way of great coat.

The dress of the women is much the same. Their jackets only have higher shoulders, and a higher hood; and are not cut round, even at the bottom, like the men's, but, from the thigh, drop in a point before and behind, below the knee, and are bordered with red cloth. The women also wear breeches, with short drawers under them. They wear a kind of high shoes or boots, of white or red leather, the seam of which is before and ornamented. Mothers and nurses wear an upper garment wide in the back, with a pocket in the shoulders, large enough to hold a child, which is left quite naked to tumble about, and is no otherwise taken care of. They are very neat and careful of their best clothes, but their every day dress drips with grease, and their heads swarm with vermin natural to them, which like beggars, they are expert at catching, and kill between their teeth.

The men wear their hair cut short in the poll, and squared off on their foreheads; but, as it is a reproach to a woman to cut her hair, (except in cases of deep mourning, or when they resolve never to marry), they tie it up on the top of their heads, so as to ornament their crowns, binding it with glass beads or some gay bandage. The same kind of ornaments they wear round their arms and necks, and in their ears, and round the borders of their clothes and shoes; but, such as aim at being beautiful, and want to be admired, draw a thread, blacked with soot under the skin of their chins, cheeks, hands and feet. This leaves a black mark behind, which

in the face resembles a beard. The mother performs this painful operation on her girls in their infancy, lest they should never get husbands. The Indians, in North-America, and several tribes of the Tartars, do the same; but, the Greenlanders, now converted to Christianity, have dropt this practice, as a foolish vanity, and a temptation to sin.

In winter they live in houses, and in tents in summer. Their houses, or cottages, are generally built on some eminence near the sea, in order that the snow may run from them. They are seldom more than about four yards broad, and from eight to twenty-four yards in length, according to the size of the family, and just high enough for a person to stand upright in. They are built with stones and fods. Their houses have neither door nor chimney, but the deficiency is supplied by a passage of five or six yards long entering through the middle of the house, the roof of which passage is so low, that they are obliged to creep in almost on their hands and feet. This long entrance keeps out the wind and cold, and lets out the thick air; for as they burn only oil within, they have no smoke. The inside of the walls is hung with old tent and boat skins, and the roofs covered with the same. From the middle of the house to the back wall, there is a raised floor or broad bench, like a taylor's shop-board, made with wood and covered with skins; and this floor is divided by skins, stretched from the posts that support the roof, into apartments, like horse-stalls, in each of which a family lives, so that houses contain from three to ten families, some more and some less. On these floors they sit in the day-time, the men with their legs hanging down, the women behind, cross-legged like a taylor, and in the night they sleep on them. Along the front-wall, opposite to this floor, are several square windows, made of seals' guts and holibut's maws, and sewed so neat and tight as to keep out the weather, and yet admit the light. A bench runs along the whole length of the house under the windows, where strangers sit or sleep.

By every post is a fire-place. A block of wood is laid upon the ground, and upon that a flat-stone; on the stone, a low three-legged stool, and on that stool a lamp a foot long, resembling a half-moon, hewn out of marble; it stands in an oval wooden bowl, placed under the lamp to receive the waste oil. In this lamp, filled with sea-oil, they lay some moss, rubbed fine, which burns so bright, and gives such a heat as not only lights the apartment but warms it. Over this lamp hangs a marble kettle by four strings fastened to the roof, in which they boil their meat, and over this is placed

placed a wooden rack, on which they lay their wet clothes and boots to dry.

Now, as there are many such fire places in one house, and as they burn night and day, there is an equal and lasting heat. But though these lamps yield no smoke, their rancid smell, and the steam arising from boiling so much flesh and fish; often half-rotten, as also their urinals within the house, with skins soaking in them for dressing, are almost intolerable to a person unaccustomed to such things. But in other respects, we cannot but admire their well contrived house-keeping, comprized within so small a compass, their content in this state of poverty, in which they conceive themselves richer than us, and, their order and quiet in such a narrow and crowded spot. Without these mansions they have little store-houses, where they lay up their provision, and close by, are their boats, drawn on the land and laid upon posts, with their bottoms upwards, to preserve them.

In dressing their meat, they are as dirty as in every thing else, seldom washing their kettles, but leaving them to the dogs to clean. Their boiled meat and broth they eat with bone spoons, from a wooden dish, but their undressed meat lies on the bare ground. They eat with their fingers, and tear with their teeth, and when their repast is over, scrape their chops with a knife, lick the blade, and put it in their pockets. So, when they are covered with sweat, they make their knife perform the same office, and scrape it from their faces down into their mouths. When they wish to treat an European genteelly, they first lick the *meat* he is to eat, clean from the blood and scum what it had contracted in the kettle, with their tongue; and, should this not be well received, it would be looked upon rude and unmannerly.

They eat when they are hungry, but the evening meal is the chief repast; when they frequently invite their neighbours, or send them a part of it. The men eat first by themselves; and their greatest joy is, to see their children stuff themselves so full, as to roll about the ground, to make room for more. They take no thought for the morrow, but when they have plenty, will dance and eat to excess, in hopes, that the sea will afford them a fresh supply the next day. But, the misfortune is, when March comes and the seals retire till May, if bad weather ensues, they must and do struggle with hunger for many days together; nay, so little do they provide for a future contingency, that they are often reduced to the necessity of eating muscles, sea-weed, old tent-skins, and shoe-soles, if they have but oil enough to boil them; and after all, many a one perishes with hunger.

Should their fire go out, they re-kindle it, by turning a stick

stick with a string, very quick through a hole in a piece of wood.

With regard to their *domestic character*, as we neither see nor hear of any unbecoming conduct in the Greenlanders; it would appear that they lead a good orderly life. Single women are very reserved, seldom are seen in private conversation with the men; and a young woman would think herself affronted, if a young fellow in company was to offer her a pinch of snuff.

A young man never thinks of marrying till he is turned of twenty; but, when he has determined in his mind, he chuses one about his own age, and acquaints his friends with the choice he has made. Marriage portions are out of the question. A man seldom gets any thing with his wife but her clothes, her knife, her lamp, or a stone boiler; his great object is her skill in housewifery, and she considers little else in him, than whether he is a good seal-fisher.

As a son has his will in every thing, his parents immediately consent, and two old women are dispatched to the parents of the bride, as negociators. The damsel, on being acquainted with it, affects an unwillingness, will hear nothing of the matter, runs away and tears her hair. Sometimes, indeed, this dissatisfaction at the news is real. Women have often fainted at the proposal, and have eloped and cut off their hair, which last is an act of great consequence, for when a woman has once lost her hair, she is never sought in marriage afterwards. This aversion to matrimony is supposed to arise from the many repudiated wives in Greenland. However, if the bride's parents do not disapprove, the women search for the daughter, and, having found her, drag her to the house of her suitor, where she sits many days dejected, with dishevelled hair and without eating any thing; and if no persuasions avail, she is compelled to change her state by force. If she runs away, she is brought back and immediately obliged to perform the contract. Indeed, some parents take care to settle their children, and for this purpose betroth them in their child-hood; in this case, they come together when they please, without any farther ceremony.

Mothers love their children excessively, and carry them with them wherever they go, in the pocket of their outer-garment, which is made for that purpose on their back, between their shoulders. They suckle them till they are four or five years old, for want of proper food for children. Of course, when children are obliged to resign the breast to others, they will often die, and should the mother die before the child can subsist on gross food, the poor infant will not long survive her.

Children

Children are here brought up without any discipline, or any chastisement: they seem not indeed to need severity, as they run about quiet as lambs, and are guilty of few extravagancies; besides, such is the nature of a Greenland, that if he cannot be brought to do a thing by gentle usage, no compulsion will effect it; he would sooner die than be compelled. The older children grow, and the more their understanding opens, the more governable they are; parents treat them on the footing of friends, and if they are desired to do any thing they dislike, they immediately, without any apology refuse, and parents put up with this refusal, till the child sees its error. But instances of ingratitude, in grown-up children, to their aged parents, is scarce ever to be met with.

As soon as a boy can use his hands and his feet, his father puts a bow and arrow into his hand, and teaches him to shoot at a target; when he is ten years old he is equipped with a boat, and learns in company with other boys to row it, overfet and rise with it, and also to fowl and to fish. Five or six years afterwards, he goes out a seal-fishing, and the first seal he takes is dressed as a feast to the family and neighbours, when he relates his prowess with a degree of triumph, and the method he made use of to catch it. The guests in their turn commend him, extol the flavor of the meat, and from this time, the women think of finding him a wife. But he who cannot catch a seal is despised, and obliged not only to live on women's diet, such as muscles, periwinkles, dried herrings, &c. but to perform the servile offices of a woman about house. At twenty, he makes his own boat, and a few years after, he marries; but dwells with his parents whilst they live, his mother retaining the management of the house.

Girls are but little employed till they are fourteen years of age, when they begin to sew, cook, dress leather, and, as they advance in strength, row the women's boat and build houses. As it is the man's business to hunt, fish and procure provisions, so is it the woman's to butcher and to dress it, for which they use no other knife than such as cheesemongers use to cut their cheeses. It is the province of the women also, to curry and prepare the leather, and perform the office of shoe-makers and taylor, carpenters and masons. From their hard labour, and still harder fare, women seldom reach the age of fifty; of course there are always more men than women.

Their house-keeping and manner of living, seems more disorderly and dirty than that of a beggar, under a hedge. To see their dirty hands and face besmeared with grease, their meat dressed and eaten in so nasty a manner, and their clothes and sleeping places swarming with vermin, would

disgust any one; but so dreadful is the climate at times, that in tempestuous weather, a European is glad to creep into their houses and tents for shelter, and if he has nothing of his own, to share their commons, and give God thanks for the blessing.

Dirty, however, as they are in their persons, their peaceful disposition is much to be admired. Several families here live in one house, with less disturbance, often, than two families in one house with us, where those families are nearly related. If any one conceives himself injured, he only removes to another house, and that without a murmur. They are happy to assist each other, and live in some measure in common, yet without one's relying on the labour of another. If a man returns home with provision in the evening, he divides it with the families under the same roof with him; but poor as they may be, no one presumes to ask for any thing, nor indeed is it necessary in a country where such hospitality is practised.

Of their *civil character*, in common life, we may say, they are discreet, cautious, friendly, mannerly and modest; but they know nothing of a false shame, a jealous reserve, or a laboured affectation; they study only to conceal their wishes and inclinations. They are not so much ambitious of cutting a figure in life, as of avoiding public odium, and rendering themselves ridiculous. They are strangers to salutations and tokens of respect, laugh at European compliments, and at a man's standing uncovered in presence of his superior; and yet, the young have a due respect for the aged, and each man a proper one for the other. In company, they are sociable and jocular, and very ironical. Irony will often effect what severity and reasoning cannot; but, if they are too much exposed and ridiculed, they are as mulish as a restive horse. Assiduous to please, and cautious not to displease, they study to avoid every thing that will create uneasiness. Should one offend another, the party offended neither expostulates nor returns any bad words. They have not a word in their language that expresses abuse or cursing; of course, they are not very quarrelsome or contentious. They do not contradict or interrupt any one in his discourse, but one is suffered to finish his speech before another begins. When they are diverted they will laugh, but never loud or boisterously.

When they make a visit in their boats, they never fail to take some eatable with them, as a present; if their company is liked, they are welcomed on the shore with singing, and all hands are ready to draw the boat upon land and unload it. Every one is anxious to have the guest or guests at his house;

house; but, as the visitor is unwilling to have it thought that he is come abroad for what he can get, he waits with silence till he is much pressed to partake of their hospitality. As soon as he enters, they kindly compel him to take off his upper-garment, and lend him a dry one. The men sit among the men, and the women by themselves. The conversation of the men runs upon the weather, hunting and fishing, and that of the women, on the death of their relations, which they close with a general howl, and then proceed to divert their guests with little entertaining stories. All the time the horn goes round with snuff, which they draw up out of a stag's horn with their noses. Meantime the repast is prepared.

A Danish factor, having been invited to a respectable Greenlanders, told me, his dinner consisted of the following dishes: dried seal, boiled *ditto*, half raw and rotten *ditto*; dried herrings, boiled willocks, a piece of half rotten whale's tail, (which is reckoned as great a delicacy as a haunch of venison); dried salmon, dried rein-deer venison; a desert of crowberries, mixed with chyle from the maw of a rein-deer, and a dish of the same, enriched with train oil.

They can prolong their table talk for several hours, which chiefly consists of the process of the men in seal-catching, to which the boys hearken with the eagerest attention; if Europeans are present, they like to hear accounts of their country, and express a desire to live in such a land; but, they no sooner are told that it sometimes thunders, and that there are no seals to be caught, but their inclination subsides, and they are happy where they are. They listen with pleasure to God and divine things, provided no application is made to themselves; and the validity of their superstitious fables and customs is allowed.

Their traffic is very simple. Money they have none, of course they barter with each other for what they want; and, as they are as eager for new things as children, they are forever chopping and changing, and often to their disadvantage. They will give the most useful article, in exchange for a trifle that pleases their fancy; and will reject a useful thing in exchange for a bauble, if it does not please them. They seldom cheat or steal from one another, holding it infamous so to do; but they glory in over-reaching or robbing a European, esteeming it a proof of superior cleverness.

They keep a kind of annual fair among themselves; where there is a meeting of the people, as at a dancing match, or at a sun-feast. They always expose their wares to view, and say what they want in exchange. And, as the people in the South have no whales, and those in the North have no

wood, the Greenlanders coast the country every summer, from two to four hundred leagues, with new boats and tackling, exchanging them for wood, horns of the anicorn-fish, teeth, whale-bone, &c. part of which they truck on their way back. In these voyages, they take their whole family and property with them, and perhaps stay some years before they return; for wherever the winter overtakes them, there they tarry, erect a house, and provide themselves food for the winter months. The land and sea is every where their own; and thus they have friends and acquaintance in every place.

The *language of Greenland* contains a few words that may claim kindred with the Norwegian tongue, and these perhaps are the relics of the old Norwegians. It has no affinity either in etymology, declension or signification, with any of the northern Tartarian or Indian languages, as far as they are known to us. But we must except the language of the Eskimaux in Terra Labrador, who seem to be one people with the Greenlanders.

With regard to their numerals, they verify the German proverb, that they can scarce count five; however they can make a shift with difficulty to mount as high as twenty, by counting the fingers of both hands and the toes of both feet. But their proper numeration-table is five, *attaufek* one, *arlak* two, *pingajuak* three, *sissamat* four, *tellimat* five.

We do not find any traditions of the most memorable events of their ancestors, comprised in heroic songs, though it is commonly found that these memorials are the vehicle of such things among other barbarians, who keep no memoirs with the pen. All they can say in praise of their progenitors is, that they were brave seal-catchers, and that they killed the old Norwegians. But on the other hand they are so much the more acute in their satirical songs.

The inhabitants of Greenland are pretty well versed in genealogy, and can often trace their pedigree as far back as ten of their progenitors, together with all the collateral branches; and this is of great service to many a needy creature; for no one is ashamed of his poor relations, and such an one need but demonstrate that he is related to some wealthy Greenlander, though very remotely, and he will not want for meat and drink.

Here it may be remarked, that the Greenlanders regard ingenuity and dexterity in their business, as the sole, at least the sublimest virtue, and in some sense as their nobility; and they believe that it is hereditary from father to son. And there is really something in it; for it may pretty certainly be depended upon, that the son of a celebrated seal-catcher will distinguish

distinguish himself among the knights of his order, even though he lost his father in his childhood, and could not be trained to it under his tutorage.

Of *writing*, the Greenlanders have no conception. Nay, in the beginning of their acquaintance with the Europeans, they were so frightened at the *speaking-paper*, that they did not dare to carry a letter from one to another, or to touch a book, because they believed it must be by magic that one man can tell the thoughts of another, by a few black scrawls on a white paper. They also seriously thought, that when the minister read God's commandments to them, he surely must have heard a voice first out of the book.

They divide the day according to the ebb and flood, though they must every day vary their reckoning according to the change of the moon. The night is divided according to the rising and setting of certain stars.

They think the globe of the earth stands upon posts, which are so rotten with age that they often crack; and that they would have sunk long ago, if they had not been continually kept in repair by the *angekoks*, who sometimes bring back a piece of rotten wood as a proof of their important service. Their astronomy makes the firmament to rest on a lofty pointed hill in the north, and it performs its revolutions on that centre.

During an eclipse of the sun, the women pinch the dogs by the ears; if they cry, it is a sure sign that the end of the world is not yet come; for as the dogs existed before men, therefore, according to Greenland logic, they must have a quicker sensation of future things. But should they not cry (which however the poor dogs always do) then the dissolution of all things is at hand.

When it thunders, they are of opinion, that two women are stretching and flapping a dried seal's-skin, and that the thunder comes from that rattle. They have unravelled the mystery of the *Aurora-Borealis*; for we are told, it is the souls of the dead frisking at a dance or at a foot-ball. So also the rains are the over-flowings of the celestial reservoirs. But should the banks break, the sky would fall down.

With regard to *religion*, before the missionaries came into the country, the Greenlanders were reported to be such gross idolaters as to worship the sun, and sacrifice to the devil, that he might forward, or at least not hinder their hunting and fishing. This the seamen did not learn from any discourse of the Greenlanders, for they understood nothing of what they said; but they drew the conclusion from certain circumstances. They saw, that as soon as the Greenlanders arose in the morning, they went out and stood with their faces towards the rising of the sun, in deep meditation, in

order to discover by the look of the hemisphere, or by the motion of the clouds, whether they had good or bad weather to expect, or even a storm the following day. They do so still every morning. The sailors not knowing the true reason, believed they worshipped the sun. Again, others saw on some forsaken places many quadrangular spots laid over with stone, and upon one elevated stone found some cinders, and near it a heap of bare bones. The conclusion was directly made, that the Greenlanders must have sacrificed here; and to whom should they have sacrificed but to the devil?

But the seamen had never seen the summer-habitations of the Greenlanders, which are tents pitched in quadrangular places, where they dress their meat with wood. Thus may people err in their conclusions concerning the religion of others, if they have only seen some circumstances without understanding them.

A missionary being once in company with some baptized Greenlanders, expressed his wonder, how they could formerly lead such a senseless life void of all reflection. Upon this, one of them answered as follows: "It is true we were ignorant heathens, and knew nothing of a God or a Saviour; and indeed who should tell us of him till you came? But thou must not imagine, that no Greenlander thinks about these things. I myself have often thought. A *Kajak* with all its tackle and implements does not grow into existence of itself, but must be made by the labour and ingenuity of man; and one that does not understand it, would directly spoil it. Now the meanest bird has far more skill displayed in its structure than the best *kajak*, and no man can make a bird. But there is a still far greater art shewn in the formation of a man than of any other creature. Who was it that made him? I bethought me, he proceeded from his parents, and they from their parents. But some must have been the first parents; whence did they come? Common report informs me, they grew out of the earth. But if so, why does it not still happen, that men grow out of the earth? And from whence did this same earth itself, the sea, the sun, the moon, and stars arise into existence? Certainly there must be some Being who made all these things, a Being that always was, and can never cease to be. He must be inexpressibly more mighty, knowing and wise, than the wisest man. He must be very good too, because every thing that he has made is good, useful, and necessary for us. Ah! did I but know him, how would I love him and honour him! But who has seen him? Who has ever conversed with him? None of us poor men. Yet
"there

“there may be men too, that know something of him; O
“could I but speak with such! Therefore (said he) as soon
“as ever I heard you speak of this great Being, I believed
“it directly with all my heart, because I had so long desired
“to hear it.”

As the Greenlanders acquire the most and best of their sustenance from the bosom of the sea, therefore many or most of them place their *elysium* in the abysses of the ocean, or the bowels of the earth, and think the deep cavities of the rocks are the avenues leading to it. There dwells Torngarsuk and his mother; there a joyous summer is perpetual, and a shining sun is obscured by no night; there is the fair limpid stream, and an exuberance of fowls, fishes, rein-deer, and their beloved seals, and these are all to be caught without toil, nay, they are even found in a great kettle boiling alive. But to these seats none must approach, but those who have been dexterous and diligent at their work, (for this is their grand idea of virtue) who have performed great exploits, have mastered many whales and seals, have undergone great hardships, have been drowned in the sea, or died in child-bed.

Others, who are more charmed with the beauty of the celestial bodies, soar beyond the rainbow, to the loftiest sky, to seek their paradise there; and they imagine the flight thither is so easy and rapid, that the soul rests the very same evening in the mansion of the moon, who was a Greenlander, and that there it can dance and play at ball with the rest of the souls; for they interpret the northern lights to be the dance of sportive souls. There the souls are placed in tents round a vast lake, where fish and fowl abound. When this lake overflows, it rains upon the earth, but should once the dam break, there would be a general deluge.

When a Greenlander is in the agonies of death, they array him in his best clothes and boots, and bend his legs up to his hips, probably that his grave may be the shorter. As soon as he is dead, they throw out his things, that they may not make themselves unclean and unfortunate. All the people in the house must also carry out their things till the evening, that the smell of the corpse may evaporate. Then they silently bewail him for a short hour, and after that prepare for his burial. They do not carry out the corpse through the entry of the house, but lift it through the window, or, if he dies in a tent, they unfasten one of the skins behind, and convey it out that way. A woman behind waves a lighted chip backward and forward, and says: “there is nothing more to be had here.” They like to make the grave in some remote high place, and make it of stone. They lay a little moss upon the bare ground, (for the rock admits of no digging)

digging) and spread a skin upon it. The corpse being wrapped and sewed up in the man's best seal or deer-skin, is brought by the nearest relation on his back, or he even drags it after him upon the ground; he lays it in the burying-place, covers it with a skin, and also with some green sods, and finally heaps great broad stones upon it to keep off the birds and foxes. Near the burying-spot they deposit the *Kajak* and darts of the departed, and the tools he daily used, or if it was a woman, her knife and sewing implements, that they may not be defiled by them, or may not be urged to too great sorrow by the frequent sight of them.

After the interment, those who attend the procession betake themselves to the house of mourning; first the men sit a while silent with their elbows leaning upon their knees, and their heads between their hands; but the women lie prostrate upon their faces on the ground, and softly weep and sob. At length the father or son, or the nearest relation, speaks a funeral discourse or elegy, in which all the good qualities of the deceased are recited, and at every period, his loss is deplored by them all with loud crying and weeping.

"Woe is me, that I see thy wonted seat, but see it empty!
 "Vain are thy mother's toils of love, to dry thy garments.
 "Lo! my joy is gone into darkness, it is crept into the caverns of the mountains. Once, when the even came, I
 "went out and was glad, I stretched out my eager eye, and
 "waited thy return. Behold thou camest! Thou camest
 "manfully rowing on, vying with young and old. Never
 "didst thou return empty from the sea; thy *Kajak* brought
 "its never-failing load of seals or sea-fowl. Thy mother,
 "she kindled the fire and boiled, she boiled what thy hand
 "acquired. Thy mother, she spread thy booty before many
 "invited guests, and I took my portion among them. Thou
 "espiedst the shallop's scarlet streamer from far, and joyfully
 "shoutedst, "Behold *Lars* * cometh!" Thou skippedst over
 "the strand with haste, and thy hand took hold of the gun-
 "nel of the shallop. Then were thy seals produced, and
 "thy mother separated the blubber; for this thou receivedst
 "shirts of linen and iron-barbs for thy spears and arrows.
 "But now, alas, 'tis over! When I think on thee, my
 "bowels are moved within me. O could I weep like others!
 "for then might I alleviate my pain. What shall I wish
 "for more on earth? Death is now become the most desirable
 "thing. But then, who shall provide for my wife,
 "and the rest of my tender children! I will still live a little:

* The Factor.

"but

"but however, my joy shall consist in a perpetual abstinence from all that is eligible to man."

After such a mournful ditty, the women continue their weeping and lamentation. Their howl is all in one tone, as if an instrument were to play a tremulous fifth downwards through all the semitones. Now and then they pause a little, and the proper female mourner drops in a few words between, but the men only sob. At length the victuals the late host left behind are laid on the floor, and eaten by the condoling guests. They repeat their visits as long as any thing is left, and this may last a week or a fortnight. When the widow goes out to seek provision, her weeds must be old, ragged, and greasy; she must never wash herself; she must either cut off her hair or wear it dishevelled; and when she goes out of the house, she must always have a particular mourning-hood on. Thus they let you know their mourning by a proper dress of sorrow. But the men do not distinguish themselves in this way, except that now and then one gives himself a wound as a token of his deep corroding grief. The dame of the house addresses all interim visitors that come in, with these words: "Him that you seek, you will find no more, alas ye come too late." And then the howling begins again. They proceed with this lamentation for half an hour every day, for some weeks or longer, nay some a whole year, according as the deceased was young or old, and according to his being indispensably necessary. They also visit the grave, and lie down upon it, and the women that stand round assist in the obsequies.

C H A P. XXIII.

L A P L A N D.

Origin of the Laplanders—Division and Government of the Country—Rein-deer—Pine-forests—Form of a Lapland Hut—Language—Religion.

IT has been generally thought, that the Laplanders are the descendants of Finlanders driven out of their own country, and that they take their name from *Lappes*, which signifies exiles. The country is divided into Danish, Swedish, and Russian Lapland; but, unless in the Swedish part, which is subject to a viceroy, the Laplanders can be said to be under

der no regular government. In order to form an idea of Lapland, one must imagine a mass of mountains irregularly crouded together. They are, however, in some interstices, separated by rivers and lakes, which contain an incredible number of islands, some of which form delightful habitations; and are believed by the natives to be the terrestrial paradise: even roses and other flowers grow wild on their borders in the summer; though this is but a short gleam of temperature, for the climate in general is excessively severe. Dusky forests, and noisome, unhealthy morasses, and barren plains, cover great part of the flat country, so that nothing can be more uncomfortable than the state of the inhabitants. In the windy season they are obliged to retire into caves with their cattle, that they may not be carried away by the storm.

In the winter, which is almost one continual night, the Laplanders do all their business by the light of the moon, whose rays being reflected by the snow, compensate for the absence of the sun. They have neither horses, goats, cows, sheep, nor asses, but they have a great number of rein-deer, which serve them for different uses. They eat their flesh, and preserve it by hanging it up to dry; they use the sinews for sewing the planks of their boats together; the milk not only serves them for food, but they make good cheese of it; their skins serve them for garments, especially those of the younger sort, whose hair is very long; the skins of the old rein-deer serve to make their stockings, or rather boots. They employ their rein-deer to draw their sledges, and they will travel in beaten tracks seventy-five miles a-day *. When the animal is tired, his master looses him from the sledge, when he feeds on the white moss, which lies under the snow. This animal, the most useful perhaps of any in the creation, resembles the stag, only it somewhat droops the head, and the horns project forward. The Lapland hares grow white in the winter; and the country produces a large black cat, which attends the natives in hunting.

The stature of the Laplanders is under the middle size, there being few who are above five feet high; they have a wide mouth, a flat face, a pointed chin, a large head, red gummy eyes, and cheeks falling inward. They are very idle; for they will neither till the ground, nor go a hunting, unless hunger obliges them. But though there be here no gardens planted by the hand of man, nature seems to have taken that charge upon herself: "for at the foot of some of the mountains, we see trees so well distributed, that art could

* Holberg.

"not invent a more agreeable disposition. Besides, the pine forests are more useful to the Laplanders, and the inhabitants of the western Bothnia, than the fairest orchards are to more fertile provinces. From the bark of those trees they make bread, and this nourishment, bad as at first it may seem to be, maintains their bodies in full vigour*." Their huts are built with poles, from twelve to fifteen feet high, which they fix in the ground in a circular form, about twelve feet in diameter; they meet on the top, and are covered with pieces of old cloth, and the skins of rein-deer. As they make their fires in the middle of their huts, they are always open at top, to let out the smoak.

The language of the Laplanders is of Finnish origin, and comprehends many dialects. It is not so barbarous as many imagine; and some people have written in it. It is softer than that of Finland, and more regular than the Swedish, and expresses things with great precision. For example, it has six or seven terms to signify the different kinds of roads, as many for the mountains, and about four and twenty to distinguish the rein-deer, according to their sex, age, and properties. The moods of the verbs are more numerous than in any other language; and they have no fewer than thirteenth different cases for their substantive nouns.

Besides their knowledge in the arts of life, the Laplanders have long since been said to have a genius for poetry: and every one has read the *Orra Moor*, and the *Rein-deer* song in the Spectator. The author † says expressly that they are translations of two songs, preserved by Scheffer in his history of this country; but critics since have given to himself the credit of them, and it has been asserted boldly, that Scheffer only mentions the two songs without inserting them. In the original addition of Scheffer, however, we find the two songs in the Lapland language, and that author's literal translation.

The Laplanders believe that the world had a beginning, but their tradition adds, that God, before he produced the earth, consulted with *Perkel*, which in their language signifies the evil-spirit, in order to determine how every thing was to be ordained; that God proposed the trees should be of marrow, the lakes filled with milk, instead of water, and that all herbs, flowers, and plants should bear fine fruit. *Perkel*, however, opposed this scheme, so that God did not make things so good as he intended they should be. They have some knowledge of the general deluge; and the tradition says, that all the earth was inhabited before God de-

* Mortray. † Mr. Addison.

stroyed it. But, in consequence of its being turned topsy-turvy, the water rushed out of the lakes and rivers, overspread the face of the earth, and swallowed up the whole human race, except a brother and a sister, whom God took under his arms, and carried to the top of a great mountain called *Passware*. The danger of the inundation being passed, these two separated, in order to search if there was any other remainder of people upon earth; but after a journey of three years they returned, and recognized one another for brother and sister. Upon this they parted again; and, having known one another after this second journey, they repeated the same expedient; but, at the end of other three years, they met again, without knowing each other; then they lived together and procreated children, from whom are descended all the nations that now inhabit the earth. Their tradition concerning their own origin is ludicrous enough. "The Laplanders and Swedes," say they, "are descended from two brothers, who were very different in point of courage. A terrible tempest having arisen one day, one of them was so frightened that he crept for safety under a plank, which God, through compassion, changed into an house, and from him are the Swedes descended: but the other being more courageous, braved the fury of the tempest, without seeking to hide himself, and he was the father of the Laplanders, who to this day live without shelter *."

The Laplanders have a particular song, which they sing after having killed a bear. They begin by thanking the vanquished enemy for his having been pleased to do them no mischief, and express their satisfaction at his arrival. Then they address their thanks to the Divinity who hath created beasts for the use of man.

Missionaries, from the christianized parts of Scandinavia, introduced among them the Christian religion; but few of them even yet can be said to be Christians, though they have among them some religious seminaries, instituted by the king of Denmark.

* Universal History.

C H A P. XXIV.

I C E L A N D.

Original Inhabitants—Attachment of the Icelanders to their Country—Volcanoes—Mount Heckla—Hot spouting-springs.—Masses of Ice—Literature—Of the Edda.

ICELAND, which derives its name from the great masses of ice that are seen near it, is four hundred miles long, and one hundred and sixty broad. A Norwegian colony, among which there were many Swedes, settled here in the ninth century. Some of the inhabitants were then Christians; and it is conjectured, that the people whom the Norwegians found in the island, originally came from England and Ireland. The inhabitants long retained their freedom; but they were at last obliged to submit to the kings of Norway, and afterwards became subject, together with Norway, to the kings of Denmark. They were at first governed by an admiral, who was sent there every year to make the necessary regulations, but that mode has now been changed for many years, and a governor appointed, who constantly resides in the country.

The Icelanders are middle-sized and well-made, though not very strong; and the women are in general ill-featured. Though their poverty disables them from imitating the hospitality of their ancestors in all respects, yet the desire of doing it still exists: they cheerfully give away the little they have to spare, and express the utmost joy and satisfaction if one is pleased with their gift. Their chief employment is attending to fishing, and the care of their cattle. They have an inexpressible attachment to their native country and are no where so happy. An Icelander rarely settles in Copenhagen, though ever so advantageous conditions should be offered him*.

The

* It seems that Providence wisely instilled into the human heart the love of that soil on which a man is born, and probably with a view that those places, which are not favoured by nature with her choicest blessings, may not be left without inhabitants. The chief wish of a Swiss is to die in his own country. When a Swiss in the French army sung a certain song to his countrymen in the last war, there arose in the breasts of all that heard him such a longing for their native countrymen, that it became absolutely necessary to the French generals to give the strictest injunctions, that this song should never be heard again in the camp. This will appear incredible to those who are acquainted with no other happiness

The Icelanders are not cheerful in conversation, but simple and credulous. When they meet together, their chief pastime consists in reading their history. The master of the house begins, and the rest continue in their turns when he is tired. Some of them know these stories by heart, others have them in print, and those that have not, have them in writing. They are famous for playing at chess; and one of their pastimes consists in reciting verses. Their dispositions are serious, and they are much inclined to religion. An Icelander never passes a river, or any other dangerous place, without previously taking off his hat, and imploring divine protection; and he is always thankful for the protection of God, when he has passed the danger in security*.

The *Icelandic Chronicles* mention many instances of *fiery eruptions* observed in different places of the country during the space of eight hundred years. The mountains are almost entirely composed of lava and *tuffa*, and the plains are crusted over with tracts of lava, which are, however, in many places covered with earth or turf. The accounts which we have of certain eruptions of fire, also inform us, that they have occasionally laid waste large tracts of land for several centuries past.

It scarcely ever happens that the mountains begin to throw out fire unexpectedly; for besides a loud rumbling noise, which is heard at a considerable distance, and for several days preceding any eruption, and a roaring and cracking in the part from whence the fire is going to burst forth, many fiery meteors are observed, but unattended in general with any violent concussion of the earth, though sometimes earthquakes, of which the history of the country affords several instances, have accompanied these dreadful conflagrations.

It is considered as a sign of an impending eruption, when small lakes, rivulets, and streams dry up. It does not contribute a little to hasten the eruption, when the mountain is so covered with ice, that the holes are stopped up through which the exhalations often found a free passage. Before a new eruption also, large masses of ice burst with a dreadful noise. Flames then break forth, and lightning and balls of fire issue with the smok, which are seen several miles off. With the flames proceed a number of larger and smaller stones, which are sometimes thrown to an incredible distance.

ness than that which is produced by the enjoyment of luxury, affluence, and voluptuousness. It always recalls to the memory that fine passage in Seneca: "Ulysses ad Ithacæ suæ saxa sic properat, quemadmodum Agamemnon ad Myvenarem nobiles muros; nemo enim patriam amat, quia magna, sed quia sua."

* Dr. Van Troil.

"I have

"I have seen a round stone," says Dr. Troil, "near Nafeirholt, about a mile from Heckla, which was an ell in diameter, and had been thrown there in the last eruption of Heckla. Egbert Olafsen also relates, that at the last eruption of Kattlegiaa, a stone which weighed two hundred and ninety pounds was thrown to the distance of four miles. A quantity of white pumice-stone is also thrown up with the boiling waters; and it is believed, with great probability, that the latter proceeds from the sea, as a quantity of salt sufficient to load several horses has frequently been found after the mountain has discontinued burning. Then follows generally brown or black pumice-stone, and lava, with sand and ashes."

Many of the snowy mountains have gradually become volcanoes. Of these burning mountains, however, *Heckla* is the best known, especially to foreigners. This mountain is situated in the southern part of the island, about four miles from the sea-coast, and is divided into three points at the top, the highest of which is that in the middle; and which is computed to be above five thousand feet higher than the sea. It has frequently sent forth flames and a torrent of burning matter. Its eruptions were particularly dreadful in 1693, when they occasioned terrible devastations, the ashes being thrown all round the island to the distance of one hundred and eighty English miles. "We made use of our horses in ascending the mountain," says the Swedish Doctor, "but were obliged to quit them at the first opening from which the fire had burst. A little higher up we found a great quantity of grit and stones, and still farther on another opening, which though not deep, however, descended lower down than that of the highest point. We thought we plainly observed evident marks of hot boiling water in this place. Not far from thence the mountains began to be covered with snow, some small spots excepted, which were bare. We could not at first discern the cause of this difference, but soon found that it proceeded from the vapour which arose from the mountain. As we ascended higher, these spots became larger; and about two hundred yards from the summit we found a hole of about one yard and a half in diameter, from which so hot a stream exhaled, that it prevented us from ascertaining the degree of heat with the thermometer.

"The cold now began to be very intense, as Fahrenheit's thermometer, which was at 54 at the foot of the mountain, fell to 24. The wind was also become so violent, that we were sometimes obliged to lie down to avoid being thrown over the most dreadful precipices by its fury. We were
"now

" now arrived at one of the highest summits, when our con-
 " ductor, who did not take great pleasure in the walk, endea-
 " voured to persuade us that this was the highest part of the
 " mountain. We had just finished our observations, and
 " found by them that Ramsden's barometer stood at 24, and
 " the thermometer, fixed to it, at 27, when happily the
 " clouds divided, and we discovered a still higher summit.
 " We lost no time in deliberation, but immediately ascended
 " it, and when at the top discovered a space of ground, about
 " eight yards in breadth, and twenty in length, entirely free
 " from snow; the sand was, however, quite wet, from its
 " having lately melted away. Here we experienced at one
 " and the same time, a high degree of heat and cold, for in
 " the air Fahrenheit's thermometer was constantly at 24, and
 " when we set it down on the ground it rose to 153. The
 " barometer was here at 22, and the thermometer at 38.
 " We could not with safety remain here any longer, though
 " we were very much inclined to it; and descended, after
 " having considered the last opening there, one of the sides
 " of which was entirely overturned, and the other quite co-
 " vered with ashes and grit. In our return we observed
 " three considerable openings, in one of which every thing
 " looked as red as brick. From another the lava had flowed
 " in a stream of about fifty yards in breadth, which the Ice-
 " landers call *Stenaa*, or Stone Flood; and at some distance
 " from thence the stream divided into three broad arms. Far-
 " ther on we found a large circular opening, at the bottom
 " of which we observed a mountain in the form of a sugar-
 " loaf, in throwing up of which the fire seemed to have ex-
 " hausted itself. The mountain does not consist of lava, but
 " chiefly of sand, grit, and ashes, which are thrown up with
 " the stones, partly melted, and partly discoloured by the fire.
 " We likewise found several sorts of pumice, and among
 " them one piece with some sulphur in it. The pumice was
 " sometimes so much burnt, that it was as light as tow;
 " their form and colour was sometimes very fine, but at the
 " same time so soft, that it was difficult to remove them from
 " one place to another: of the common lava we found both
 " large pieces and small bits, as likewise a quantity of black
 " jasper, burned at the extremities, and resembling trees and
 " branches. Among the stones thrown out of the mountain
 " we saw some slate of a strong red colour *"

The last eruption of mount Heckla happened in 1766.
 It began on the 5th of April and continued to the 7th of

* Troil's Letters on Iceland.

September following. Flames proceeded also from it in December 1771, and in September 1772; but no eruptions of lava.

Amongst all the curiosities in Iceland, nothing is more worthy of attention than the hot spouting water-springs with which this island abounds. The hot springs at Aix-la-Chapelle, Carlsbad, Bath, and Switzerland, and several others found in Italy, are considered as very remarkable: but, excepting in the last mentioned country, the water no where becomes so hot as to boil; nor is it any where known to be thrown so high as the hot spouting water-springs in Iceland. All those water-works that have been contrived with so much art, and at so enormous an expence, cannot by any means be compared with these. The water-works at St. Cloud, which are thought the greatest amongst all the French water-works, cast up a thin column eighty feet into the air: while some springs in Iceland spout columns of water of several feet in thickness, to the height of many fathoms; and, as many as firm, of several hundred feet. These springs are of unequal degrees of heat. From some, the water flows gently as from other springs, and it is then called a bath: from others, it spouts boiling water with a great noise, and it is then called a kettle. Though the degree of heat is unequal, yet Dr. Van Troil does not remember ever to have observed it under 188 of Fahrenheit's thermometer. At Geyser, Ræynum, and Laugarvatn he found it at 212; and in the last place, in the ground, at a little hot current of water, 213 degrees. It is common for some of the spouting-springs to cease, and others to rise up in their stead. Frequent earthquakes, and subterranean noises heard at that time, cause great terror to the people who live in the neighbourhood. In several of these hot springs, the inhabitants who live near them boil their victuals, only by hanging a pot into which the flesh is put in cold water, in the water of the spring. They also bathe in the rivulets that run from them, which, by degrees become luke-warm, or are cooled by their being mixed with rivulets of cold water. The largest of all the spouting-springs in Iceland is called Geyser. It is about two days journey from Hecla, and not far from Skalholt. In approaching towards it, a noise is heard, like the rushing of a torrent, precipitating itself from stupendous rocks. The water here spouts several times a day, but always by starts, and after certain intervals. Some travellers have affirmed, that it spouts to the height of sixty fathoms. The water is thrown up much higher at some times than at others: when Dr. Van Troil was there, the utmost height to which it mounted was computed to be ninety-two feet.

With regard to *literature*, it is said that poetry formerly flourished very much in Iceland, and that there is no language which allows a poet so much liberty as the Icelandic, nor so rich in poetical expressions. According to the Edda *, they have no less than one hundred and thirty-six different sorts of versifications, each of which has its particular rules. The art of writing, however, was not much in use till after the year 1000; though the Runic characters were known in that country before that period, and most probably brought thither from Norway. After the reception of the Christian religion, the Latin characters were immediately adopted, as the Runic alphabet, which only consists of sixteen letters, was found insufficient. From the introduction of Christianity here till the year 1264, when Iceland became subject to Norway, it was one of the few countries in Europe, and the only one in the North, wherein the sciences were cultivated and held in esteem. But this period of time seems to have produced more learned men in Iceland than any other period since. It appears from their ancient chronicles, that they had considerable knowledge in morality, philosophy, natural history, and astronomy. Sir J  seph Banks presented one hundred and sixty-two Icelandic manuscripts to the British Museum. That gentleman visited Iceland in 1772, accompanied by Dr. Solander, Dr. Van Troil, and Dr. Lind. Dr. Van Troil, who published an account of their voyage, observes, that he found more knowledge among the lower class in Iceland than is to be met with in most other places; that many of them could repeat the works of some of their poets by heart; and that a peasant was seldom to be found, who, besides being well instructed in the principles of religion, was not also acquainted with the history of his own country; which proceeds from the frequent reading of their traditional histories, that being one of their principal amusements. A new privileged printing-office has lately been established at Hrappsey in Iceland, at which several valuable books have been printed.

The commerce of this island is monopolized by a Danish company. The soil upon the sea-coasts is tolerably good for pasture: and though there is not any considerable town in the whole island, the Icelanders have several frequented ports. Their exports consist of dried fish, salted mutton and

* The Edda is one of the most celebrated remains of antiquity, and has generally been considered as the mythology of the ancients. But Chevalier Ihre, who attentively examined the manuscript of the Edda, in the library of Upsala, says it is nothing more than an introduction to Icelandic poetry.

lamb, beef, butter, tallow, train-oil, coarse wollen-cloth, stockings, gloves, raw wool, sheep-skins, lamb-skins, fox-furs of various colours, eider-down, and feathers. Their imports consist, of timber, fishing-lines and hooks, tobacco, bread, horse-shoes, brandy, wine, salt, linen, and a little silk; exclusive of some necessities and superfluities for the more wealthy.

It is extraordinary that no wood grows successfully in Iceland; nay, there are very few trees to be found on the whole island, though there are certain proofs that wood formerly grew there in great abundance. Nor can corn be cultivated here to any advantage; though cabbages, parsley, turnips, and peas, may be met with in five or six gardens, which are said to be all that are in the island.

There are immense masses of ice, by which every year great damage is done to this country, and which affect the climate of it; they arrive commonly with a N. W. or N. N. W. wind from Greenland. The field ice is of two or three fathoms thickness, is separated by the winds, and less dreaded than the rock or mountain ice, which is often seen fifty and more feet above water, and is at least nine times the same depth below water. These prodigious masses of ice are frequently left in shoal water, fixed, as it were, to the ground, and in that state remain many years undissolved, chilling all the ambient part of the atmosphere for many miles round. When many such lofty and bulky masses of ice are floating together, the wood that is often drifted along between them is so much chafed, and pressed with such violence together that it takes fire; which circumstance has occasioned fabulous accounts of the ice being in flames. The ice caused so violent a cold in 1753 and 1754, that horses and sheep dropped down dead on account of it, as well as for want of food: horses were observed to feed upon dead cattle, and the sheep to eat of each other's wool. A number of bears arrive yearly with the ice, which commit great ravages, particularly among the sheep. The Icelanders attempt to destroy these intruders as soon as they get sight of them; and sometimes they assemble together, and drive them back to the ice, with which they often float off again. For want of fire arms, they are obliged to make use of spears on these occasions. The government encourages the natives to destroy these animals, by paying a premium of ten dollars for every bear that is killed. Their skins are also purchased for the king, and are not allowed to be sold to any other person.

CHAP. XXV.

RUSSIA.

Extent of the Empire—Basilowitz assumes the Title of Tzar—Alexis Michaelowitz—Peter the Great—Death of the Czarowitz—Deposition and Death of Peter III.—Catherine II.—War with the Turks—Armed Neutrality—Punishment of an Impostor—Learning.

THE empire of Russia is the largest upon the whole globe. Its boundaries are Poland and the Frozen Sea, Sweden and China. It is so extensive, that when it is noon in the west, it is very near midnight in the eastern parts of this country. The history of Russia is of little importance, till the reign of John Basilowitz I. who threw off the yoke of the Tartars, and assumed the title of Tzar, which in the Sc'avonian language signifies King or Emperor. To the acquisitions of his grandfather, Basilowitz II. added Astracan, and also Siberia, then as little known to the Russians, as Mexico was to the Spaniards before the expedition of Cortez, and as easily conquered. This prince was succeeded by a race of weak despotic sovereigns, in the course of whose reigns the kingdom was torn in pieces by civil wars, and became the prey of the Poles and Swedes. At length Michael Theodorowitz, related by females to the Tzar, A. D. 1618. John Basilowitz, was raised to the throne; and this prince having concluded a peace with Sweden and Poland, restored tranquillity to Russia, and transmitted the crown to his descendants*.

His son, Alexis Michaelowitz, published the first code of Russian Laws. He likewise introduced both the linen and silk manufactures, which were not indeed of any long continuance; yet he had the merit of their first erection. He died suddenly at the age of forty-six, after shewing himself worthy of being father to Peter the Great. Alexis left behind him three sons and a daughter, who was a woman of great intrigue and spirit. Theodore the eldest, a prince of a weak and sickly constitution, ascended the throne at the age of fifteen. On his death, his two brothers, John and Peter, were proclaimed joint sovereigns, associating their sister Sophia in the government, as co-regent. When John died, Peter reigned sole sovereign, under the title of Peter I. or

* Puffendorf.

Peter the Great, Sophia having been before confined to a monastery.

Peter was one of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared on the stage of human life. He had already rendered himself formidable by the defeat of the Turks, and the taking of Asoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquisition led to more extensive views. He resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia; he projected a junction of the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Tanais by means of canals; and thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean. The port of Archangel frozen up for almost nine months in the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous passage, he did not think sufficiently commodious; he therefore resolved to build a city upon the Baltic Sea, which should become the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extensive empire.

Several princes, before this illustrious Barbarian, disgusted with the pursuits of ambition, or tired with sustaining the load of public affairs, had renounced their crowns, and taken refuge in the shade of indolence, or of philosophical retirement; but history affords no example of any sovereign, who divested himself of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: that was a stretch of magnanimity reserved for Peter the Great. Though almost destitute himself of education, he discovered, by the natural force of his genius, and a few conversations with strangers, his own rude state and the savage condition of his subjects. He resolved to become worthy of the character of a man, to see men, and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring instruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, A. D. 1697. he accordingly quitted his dominions, as a private gentleman in the retinue of three ambassadors, whom he sent to different courts of Europe. As soon as Peter arrived at Amsterdam, which was the first place that particularly attracted his notice, he applied himself to the study of commerce and the mechanical arts; and, in order more completely to acquire the art of ship building, he entered himself as a carpenter in one of the principal dock-yards, and laboured and lived, in all respects, as the common journeymen. At his leisure hours he studied natural philosophy, navigation, fortification, surgery, and such other sciences as may be necessary to the sovereign of a barbarous people. From Holland he passed over to England, where he perfected himself in the art of ship-building. King William, in order to gain

his

his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a present of an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his service a number of ingenious artificers. Thus instructed, and attended by several men of science, Peter returned to Russia, after an absence of near two years, with all the useful, and many of the ornamental arts in his train *.

He rose gradually through every rank and service both by sea and land; and the many defeats which he received, especially that from Charles XII. at Narva, seemed only to enlarge his ambition, and extend his ideas. The battles he lost rendered him a conqueror upon the whole, by adding experience to his courage; and the generous friendship he shewed to Augustus, king of Poland, both before and after he was dethroned by the king of Sweden, redounds greatly to his honour. He had no regard for rank distinct from merit; and, in 1711, he married Catherine, a young Lithuanian woman who had been betrothed to a Swedish dragoon at Marienburgh. General Bauer, taking that place in 1701 was smitten with her, and took her to his house. She was soon removed into the family of the prince Menzikoff, with whom she lived till 1704, when in the seventeenth year of her age she became the mistress of Peter, and then his wife, because, after a long cohabitation, he found her possessed of a soul formed to execute his plans, and to assist his councils. Catherine was so much a stranger to her own country, that her husband afterwards discovered her brother, who served as a common soldier in his armies.

Peter the Great was unfortunate in his eldest son, who was called the Czarowitz, and who marrying without his consent, entered, as his father alledged, into some dangerous practices against his person and government; for which he was tried and condemned to death. Under a sovereign so despotic as Peter was, we can say nothing as to the justice of the charge. He publicly treated him with inhuman ferocity, and it was undoubtedly his will, that the young prince should be found guilty. It is said, that as soon as the sentence of death was pronounced upon the prince, he fell into the most violent convulsions, from which it was with the greatest difficulty that he regained a little interval of sense, during which he desired his father would come to see him, when he asked his pardon, and soon after died. But the most probable opinion is that he was secretly executed in prison, and that marshal Weyde was the person who beheaded him *. After this event, Peter ordered his wife Catherine to be crowned, with the same magnificent ceremonies as if she had been a

Greek Empress, and this was the principal cause of her subsequent elevation. For just before his death he discovered a secret connection between her and her first chamberlain Mons. He surprised them together in an arbour of the garden, when striking her with his cane, as well as the page, who would have prevented him from entering the arbour, he retired without uttering a single word. But presently Mons was taken up, and being threatened with the torture, confessed, and was beheaded. The day after the execution Peter conveyed Catherine in an open carriage under the galleries to which the head of Mons was nailed. It is said that the empress without changing colour at this dreadful sight, exclaimed, "What a pity! that there is so much corruption among courtiers!" This event was soon followed by Peter's death, who probably had destined his eldest daughter Anne to be his successor, but the A. D. 1724. suddenness of his death prevented it; and some of the nobles and officers being gained by money, jewels, and promises, and the two regiments of guards by a largess, Catherine mounted the throne. She was in her person under the middle size, and her abilities have been greatly exaggerated. She could neither read nor write. Her daughter Elizabeth usually signed her name for her. During her short reign, of two years, which may rather be considered as the reign of Menzikoff, her life was very irregular. An intemperate use of tokay wine, joined to a cancer and dropsy, hastened her end. She was succeeded by Peter II. a minor son of the Czatowitz, who fell a victim to the small pox, after having reigned only two years. Many domestic revolutions happened in Russia during this short period; but none was more remarkable than the disgrace and exile of prince Menzikoff, the favourite general in the two late reigns, and esteemed the richest subject in Europe.

The male issue of Peter the Great being now extinct, the Russians raised Anne, duchess A. D. 1730. of Courland, second daughter of John, Peter's eldest brother, to the throne. Her reign was glorious and happy. As she died without issue, John, the son of her niece Catherine Princess of Mecklenburgh, by Anthony Ulric, Duke of Brunswick Woelfenbottle, was invested with the imperial ensigns at the age of two years. He was soon after deposed, sent into Siberia, and murdered.

Elizabeth, second daughter of Peter the Great, was, on this revolution, raised to the throne. The reign of this empress was uncommonly glorious. She abolished all capital punishments, and introduced a spirit of lenity in the opera-

tions of government, before unknown in Russia. Her fleet and armies were every where victorious.

She was succeeded in the august throne, by A. D. 1762. her nephew the Duke of Holstein under the name of Peter III. This prince began his reign with regulating, on the most generous principles his interior government. He freed the nobility and gentry from all slavish vassalage, and put them on a footing with those of the same rank in other European countries. He recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia: and lessened the taxes upon certain necessities of life, to the great relief of the poor. These first measures seemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but, being of a rash and irregular turn of mind he in many instances shocked their prejudices, even while he consulted their interests. He disgusted both the army and the church, the two chief pillars of absolute sway; the former by the manifest preference which he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter by his contempt of the Greek communion, having been bred a Lutheran, and by certain innovations in regard to images, but more especially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of the clergy, and an order that they should no longer be "distinguished by beards*." These were high causes of discontent, and threatened the throne with all the violence of civil war. But Peter's misfortunes immediately arose from a matrimonial feud—from the bosom of his own family. He had long slighted his consort, Catherine, of the house of Anhaltzerbst, a woman of a masculine disposition and sound understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited, and now openly lived with the Countess of Worowzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he seemed devoted with so strong a passion, that it was generally believed he had some thoughts of shutting the empress up in a convent, and of raising the countess to the partnership of his throne. The dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking the advantage of that domestic dissention, assembled in the absence of the Czar, deposed him formally, and invested Catherine with the imperial ensigns.

The new empress marched at the head of the malcontents in quest of her husband. Peter was solacing himself with his mistress at one of his houses of pleasure, and expressed the utmost surprise at being told *the sceptre* was departed from him. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to escape to

* Russell's Modern Europe.

Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison; where he expired a few days after, of what was called an hæmorrhoidal colic, to which he was said to have been subject*. His death, by reason of the steps that had preceded it, occasioned no speculation. It was, indeed, an event universally expected. Princes dethroned by their subjects are seldom allowed to languish long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealousy of the successor, or the fears of some principal conspirator, commonly make few their moments of trouble.

Catherine II. began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her service and confidence. She sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russians in their stead. She restored to the clergy their revenues; and, what was of no less importance, the privilege of wearing beards! She conferred all the great offices of state on native Russians, and threw herself wholly on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

The death of prince Iwan, son to the princess of Mecklenburg, is the most remarkable domestic occurrence in Catherine's reign. This young prince, as soon as he came into the world was designed, though illegally, to wear the imperial crown of Russia, after the death of his great aunt, the empress Anna Iwanona; but by the advancement of the empress Elizabeth, he was condemned to lead an obscure life in the castle of Schlusselfburg, under a strong guard, who had particular orders, that if any person, or any armed force, was employed in attempting to deliver him, they should kill him immediately. He lived quietly in his prison when the empress, Catherine II. mounted the throne; and as the revolution which deposed her husband Peter III. had occasioned a strong ferment in the minds of the people, Catherine was apprehensive that some attempts might be made in favour of Iwan. She therefore doubled the guards of this unhappy prince, and particularly entrusted him to the care of two officers, who were devoted to her interest. However, a lieutenant of infantry, who was born in the Ukraine, undertook, or at least pretended, to deliver Iwan by force of arms from the fortrefs of Schlusselfburg; and under this pretence, the prince was put to death, after an imprisonment of twenty three years. The lieutenant who attempted to deliver him was arrested, and afterwards beheaded, and his body burnt with the scaffold. A. D. 1764.

* Manifesto of the Empress Catherine II.

While this event excited the attention of the Russian nation, the flames of civil war broke out with great violence in Poland, which has generally been the case when the throne was vacant. And as the internal tranquillity of Poland is a capital object with Russia, the empress Catherine sent a body of troops into Poland, and by her influence count Poniatowski was raised to the throne. She also interposed in order to secure the rights which the treaty of Oliva had given to the Greek and Protestant subjects of Poland. But the umbrage which her Imperial majesty's armies gave to the Roman Catholic Poles, by their residence in Poland, increased the rage of civil war in that country, and produced confederacies against all that had been done during the election; which rendered Poland a scene of blood and confusion. The conduct of Russia, with regard to Poland, gave so much offence to the Ottoman court, that the Grand Signior sent Obrestoff, the Russian minister, to the prison of the *Seven Towers*, declared war against Russia, and marched a very numerous army to the confines of Russia and Poland. Hostilities soon commenced between these rival and mighty empires. The enemy, having broken the Russian lines of communication, penetrated into the province of *New Servia*, committed great ravages, burnt many towns and villages, and carried off some thousand families captive. Soon after, the grand vizir, at the head of a great army, began his march from Constantinople, and proceeded towards the Danube. In the mean time, prince Galitzin, who commanded the Russian army on the banks of the Neister, thought this a proper time to attempt something decisive, before the arrival of the great Turkish force in that quarter. He advanced to Choczim, where he encamped in sight of a body of 30,000 Turks, commanded by Caraman Pacha, and entrenched under the cannon of the town. The prince attacked the Turks in their intrenchments early in the morning of the 30th of April, and notwithstanding an obstinate defence, and a dreadful fire from the fortrefs, at length beat them out of their trenches, followed them into the suburbs of Choczim, and their pursuit was only stopped by the palisadoes of the fortrefs. Soon after, the town was set on fire by red hot balls, and a great number of Jews and Christians took refuge in the Russian camp. From the successes of the Russians, it might have been expected that Choczim would have immediately fallen; but prince Galitzin thought proper to retire, and to repass the Neister, not having sufficient artillery along with him. Indeed, it appears that the

Turkish

Turkish cavalry had over-run the neighbouring country, burnt some small towns, and destroyed some Russian magazines.

On the 13th of July, a very obstinate battle was fought, in which the Turks were defeated; the Russians immediately invested Choczim, but the garrison, being numerous, made frequent sallies, and received great reinforcements from the grand vizir's camp, who was now considerably advanced on this side of the Danube. Several actions ensued, and prince Galitzin was again obliged to retreat and repass the Neister. It was computed that the siege of Choczim, and the actions consequent upon it, cost the Russians above twenty thousand men. In the management of this war, the grand vizir acted with a degree of prudence, which it has been thought would have proved fatal to the designs of the Russians, if the same conduct had been afterwards pursued. But the army of the vizir was extremely licentious, and his caution gave offence to the Janizaries. So that in consequence of their clamours, and the weakness of their councils that prevailed in the seraglio, he at length became a sacrifice, and Moldavani Ali Pacha, a man of more courage than conduct, was appointed his successor.

The war between the Russians and Turks continued to be carried on by land as well as by sea, to the advantage of the former, upon the whole; but at length some attempts were made to negotiate a peace between these great contending powers. Hostilities were repeatedly suspended, and afterwards renewed; but a peace was at length concluded highly honourable and beneficial to the A. D. 1774. Russians, by which they obtained the liberty of a free navigation over the Black Sea, and a free trade with all parts of the Ottoman empire.

Before the conclusion of the war with the Turks, a rebellion broke out in Russia, which gave much alarm to the court of Petersburg. A cosack, whose name was Pugatscheff, assumed the name and character of the late unfortunate emperor Peter the Third. He appeared in the province of Kasan, and pretended, that he made his escape, through an extraordinary interposition of Providence, from the murderers who were employed to assassinate him, and that the report of his death was only a fiction invented by the court. His person is said to have had a striking resemblance to that of the late emperor, a circumstance which first induced him to engage in this enterprize. As he possessed abilities and address, his followers soon became very numerous; and he at length found himself so powerful, that he stood several engagements with the able Russian generals, at the head of large

large bodies of troops, and committed great ravages in the country. But being totally defeated, and then betrayed by two of his confidants, he was brought to Moscow in an iron cage, where he was beheaded and quartered.

Her Imperial majesty has effected many beneficial and important regulations to the interior police of her empire, and particularly in the courts of justice. One of the most remarkable transactions of her reign, is her establishment of an armed neutrality, for the protection of the commerce of nations not at war, from any attacks or insults from belligerent powers. By the code, which her Imperial majesty has endeavoured to enforce, neutral ships are to enjoy a free navigation, from port to port, and on the coasts of belligerent powers; and all effects belonging to the subjects of such powers are looked upon as free, on board such neutral ships, except the goods stipulated contraband in her treaty of commerce with Great Britain. Her Imperial majesty invited the powers

A. D. 1780. at war to accede to this armed neutrality. Those who engaged were to make a common cause at sea against any of the powers who should violate, with respect to neutral nations, these principles of maritime law. The armed neutrality was acceded to, the same year, by the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and by the States-General.

The extreme despotism of the Russian government is a great impediment to the progress of the *arts and sciences*, and to the real prosperity of the empire. The progress, however, which learning has made in that empire since the beginning of this century, with the specimens of literature published at Petersburg and Moscow, is an evidence that the Russians are not unqualified to shine in the arts and sciences. Many of the Greek and Latin classics have been translated by the natives into the Russian language; and the papers exhibited by them, at their academical meetings, have been favourably received all over Europe; especially those that relate to astronomy, the mathematics, and natural philosophy.

C H A P. XXVI.

P O L A N D.

Its early History—Sobieski—Augustus and Stanislaus—Charles XII. and Count Piper—Partition of Poland—New Constitution—Copernicus.

POLAND, anciently called Sarmatia, is bounded on the north by the Baltic, and the province of Livonia; on the east by Russia and Tartary; on the south by Hungary; and on the west by Germany. This extensive tract of land, being abdicated by its original inhabitants, who, on the fall of the Roman empire, joined the plunderers of the north, and migrated in hopes of obtaining a more fertile and cultivated country, fell into the hands of a vagrant people, who under Lech had left the dreary coasts of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. His descendants kept possession A. D. 550. for two centuries under the title of dukes. On the extinction of the family of Lech, Poland was governed by twelve Palatines, who divided the kingdom into the same number of provinces, erected a kind of aristocracy, and in a great measure polished this rude and barbarous people. Parties and dissensions soon after arising, their former government, under a duke or prince, was re-established, and the supreme command given to *Cracus*, who expelled the East Franks out of his country, built the city of Cracow, and restored the republic to its tranquillity*.

After his posterity, who enjoyed the *ducal* crown, till the commencement of the ninth century, failed, anarchy and confusion for some time succeeded. At length the Poles, to put a period to the horrors of a civil war, invested *Piaſt*, at that time a low peasant, with supreme power. He governed with singular success, and his family flourished several ages after in Poland. It is remarkable, that all the natives of the country, who are chosen kings, are to this day called *Piaſts*. *Boleslaus Crobray*, the fifth in succession from *Piaſt*, having made great additions by conquest, solicited the emperor, *Otho III.* to erect his ducal dominions into a kingdom, for which he did the emperor homage, and agreed A. D. 1000. to hold his territories of him as a fief of the empire†. From this time the sovereigns of Poland, who before had been satisfied with the title of duke, assumed the more

* Universal History.

† Russell's Modern Europe.

honourable appellation of king. Little is recorded of the immediate successors of Boleslaus, except the civil wars and intestine commotions, which were very frequent. With Casimir III. the dynasty of the Piasts ended after it had continued five hundred and twenty-eight years. Lewis, at that time king of Hungary, succeeded to the throne of Poland. On his demise, his younger daughter Hedwigis, was crowned queen. She married Jegallo Uladislaus, duke of Lithuania, who was elected king, and annexed his paternal dominions to the Polish monarchy. This prince was the founder of the third race of sovereigns, called the Jagellonic line, which, though the crown is elective, sat on the throne till the year 1572, under whose administration Poland, which had been till then a scene of anarchy, began to be of some consideration in the north.

On the death of Sigismund, the last of the Jagello family, without issue, two powerful competitors appeared; Henry duke of Anjou, brother to Charles IX. king of France; and Maximilian, duke of Austria. Henry prevailed; but his brother dying the next year, he quitted Poland to ascend the throne of France. He was succeeded, at the request of the Turks, by Stephen Battori, prince of Transylvania. This monarch governed with great reason. He instituted the two courts of judicature at Peterkan and Lublin, and subdued the Cossacks. He was succeeded by Sigismund III. the son of John, king of Sweden, and aspiring to the crown of Russia also, was engaged in long and bloody wars, but was at length obliged to rest satisfied with the throne of Poland. His son Uladislaus, saw the beginning of the fatal defection of the Cossacks. These people inhabit the borders of the Boristhenes, or Nieper, one of the largest rivers in Europe. They are rude and uncivilized, like the ancient Scythians and Tartars. All this part of the world, to the north-east of Europe, was then in a savage state. It was the exact image of the heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the necessaries of life, and pillaged those necessities from their neighbours. The Polish nobility treated these Cossacks after they had been conquered by Battori, as their vassals and slaves. These oppressions at length caused the whole Cossack nation to revolt, and joining the Russians and Turks, for a long time they continued to commit horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. Uladislaus died without issue. He had two brothers, both in holy orders; the one a cardinal, the other bishop of Breslaw and Kiow, who pretended to the vacant throne. John Casimir, the cardinal, was elected in opposition to his brother. This prince having been spectator for upwards of twenty years to
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the desolation of his kingdom, by factions at home and by incursions of the Swedes, Russians, and Cossacks, abdicated the government, and retired to Paris, where he died Abbot of St. Germain des Pres. Poland was equally miserable under his successor Michael Coribat, whose reign was one continued series of misfortunes. The Turks conquered Podolia, and Volhinia, and became so formidable that Poland could not support itself, but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marechal or general of the crown, John Sobieski, washed out this stain in the famous and bloody battle of Choczim, in which the Turks were totally defeated, and Poland delivered from its tribute. This signal victory secured Sobieski's election to the crown on Michael's death. This martial prince entered into an alliance with the emperor of Germany, for the common defence of the Christian cause against the Turks. He defeated them with great slaughter, and obliged them to raise the siege of Vienna, with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them their tents, artillery, and baggage. The reign of Sobieski was glorious.

Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, was next chosen king, in opposition to his competitor, the prince of Conti. The state was now distracted by the most violent convulsions. Augustus having entered into alliance with Peter I. of Russia, against Charles XII. king of Sweden, the Swedish monarch resolved to dethrone him. After having experienced the greatest reverses of fortune, Augustus was compelled to resign the crown. All the members of the diet at Warsaw, with one voice, pronounced the throne to be vacant. It was the intention of the A. D. 1704. king of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James Sobieski, eldest son of the late king; but that prince being taken prisoner, together with his second brother, Constantine, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Breslaw in Silesia, by a party of the Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it with a generosity perhaps unexampled in history. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortune of his elder brothers; and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms, in restoring liberty to the unhappy captives*. This refusal, and the misfortune which led to it, having disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch, his minister count Piper, who was as great a politician as his master was a warrior, advised Charles to take the crown of Poland to himself. He represented how easy it would be to accomplish such a

* Parthenay.

scheme, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already subdued. Charles acquiesced in the prudent proposal for a moment; but blinded by the illusions of romantic glory, he afterwards told his minister, that he had more pleasure in giving away, than in conquering kingdoms! He accordingly recommended to the choice of the Polish diet, assembled at Warsaw, Stanislaus Leczenski, Palatine of Posnania, who was immediately raised to the throne*. Peter Czar of Russia, chastised the arrogance of Charles; and, after the famous battle of Pultowa, in which the king of Sweden lost in one day the fruits of nine years successful war, invited the elector of Saxony to re-ascend the throne. Stanislaus was thus forced to relinquish his authority, and Augustus found himself once more in possession of the Polish throne. Augustus was A. D. 1733. endowed with extraordinary bodily strength, a sound understanding, a social disposition, and many princely accomplishments. It was this Augustus, who in a fit of gallantry twisted a horse-shoe in the presence of a *fine woman*, in order to give her some idea of his personal powers; and at the same time presented to her a purse of gold, to make her sensible of his generosity. Love perhaps never spoke a more eloquent language?

On this prince's death, Stanislaus, now become father-in-law to Lewis XV. was a second time chosen king. But the emperor, assisted by the Russians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election. The elector of Saxony, son of the late king of Poland, who had married the emperor's niece, was invested with the sovereignty, under the name of Augustus III. and Stanislaus, as formerly, was obliged to abandon his crown. After the death of Augustus, A. D. 1763. a diet was summoned to deliberate on the election of a new king, when count Poniatowski, by the influence of Russia, ascended the throne, under the title of Stanislaus Augustus. He is a man of abilities and address, but, from various concurring causes, he has had the unhappiness to see Poland, during his reign, a scene of desolation and calamity. A war ensued between the Russians and the Turks, on account of this country. But the conduct of the Grand Signior and of the Ottoman Porte towards the distressed Poles, was strictly just and honourable, and the very reverse of that of their Christian neighbours. The empress of Russia, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Prussia, gave the king of Poland the strongest assurances, "that their friendship for him and the republic was firm and

unalterable; that they had not the least intention of seizing any part of his dominions; nor would ever suffer any other power to do it." From which, according to the political creed of princes we may infer, that to guarantee the rights, liberties, and revenues of a state; means to annihilate those liberties, seize upon those rights, and appropriate those revenues to their own use. Such is the faith of princes, the instability of human politics, and human affairs!

For it soon after appeared, that the king of A. D. 1772. Prussia, the emperor and empress-queen; and the empress of Russia, had entered into an alliance to divide and dismember the kingdom of Poland; though Prussia was formerly in a state of vassalage to Poland, and the title of king of Prussia was never acknowledged by the Poles till 1746. Russia also in the beginning of the seventeenth century, saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; while Austria in 1683, was indebted to a king of Poland for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence. The three allied powers, acting in concert, set up their formal pretensions to the respective districts, which they had allotted for and guaranteed to each other. This *violent and unwarrantable* partition of Poland, has justly been considered as the first great breach in the modern political system of Europe. The surprise of a town, the invasion of an insignificant province, or the election of a prince, who had neither abilities to be feared, nor virtue to be loved, would some years ago have armed one half of Europe, and called forth all the attention of the other. But the destruction of a great kingdom, with the consequent disarrangement of power, dominion, and commerce, has been beheld by the other nations of Europe, with the most astonishing indifference and unconcern. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against the usurpations, but that was all. Poland was forced to submit, and the partition was ratified by their diets held under the bribes and threats of the three powers. This is a very alarming circumstance, and shows that a most important, though not happy change, has taken place in that general system of policy, and arrangement of power and dominion, which had been for some ages an object of unremitting attention with most of the states of Europe. Our ancestors might, perhaps, on some occasions, discover rather more anxiety about preserving the balance of power in Europe than was necessary; but, it has been well remarked, that the idea of considering Europe as a vast commonwealth, of the several parts being distinct and separate, though politically and commercially united, of keeping them independent, though unequal in power, and of preventing any one, by any means, from becoming too

powerful for the rest, was great and liberal, and, though the result of barbarism was founded upon the most enlarged principles of the wisest policy. It appears to be owing to this system, that this small part of the western world has acquired so astonishing a superiority over the rest of the globe. The fortune and glory of Greece proceeded from a similar system of policy, though formed upon a smaller scale. Both her fortune and glory expired with that system.

Some time before this partition, an attempt was made by Kozinski, an officer among the Polish confederates, and several others, to assassinate the king of Poland, in the streets of Warsaw. His majesty received two wounds on his head, one from a ball, and the other from a sabre; notwithstanding which he had the good fortune to escape with life, by Kozinski's relenting, for which his own life was saved, and he now resides in the papal territories, with an annual pension from the king. Pulaski, another of the conspirators distinguished himself in the American service, and was killed in attacking the British lines at Savannah, in 1779.

In the present age, the principles of liberty
May 3, 1791. have been so generally received and embraced, that a most important revolution took place at Warsaw. A numerous assembly of patriots was held in the royal presence; and at the opening of the session of the diet, destined to treat of the affairs of the finance, his majesty himself changed the business of the day by saying, that he had planned a constitution, and requested the states to sign it. The articles of it were then read, which consisted of some pages. His majesty declared that the constitution had been framed out of the English and American forms of government. When the constitution was read, the tumult in the diet was very great, some for, and others against it. However, it was at last carried, and the king was requested to swear to it, which he did in the hands of the bishop of Cracow, and was followed by most of the members. His majesty then said aloud, "Those who are friends to their country, follow me, and confirm the oath at the altar." All the bishops, all the senators, and most of the members followed the king, and took this important oath. A hundred cannon announced to the public the swearing to the new constitution.—The oath is as follows, "We swear before God and the country, to maintain and defend, with all possible human power, the present constitution." The army throughout the kingdom were ordered to take this oath, within one month from the date of the present law. And that future ages may know and feel that it is by the assistance of the Supreme Disposer of nations, that the greatest obstacles and difficulties have been surmounted,

surmounted, and this happy revolution effected, it was decreed, that a church shall be erected and consecrated to Divine Providence, in memory of this event, and at the expence of the states.

It is melancholy, however, to reflect upon what a tottering balance, upon what trivial causes, the prosperity and happiness of nations is frequently found to depend. The establishment of a free, and apparently, well-poised constitution in Poland, was of short duration. The increase of power, which the great monarchs of Europe have lately acquired, is truly alarming. In the case of Russia, that increase has been gradual, but it is the effect of system, and of a system which, if pursued through the course of another protracted reign, must inevitably be attended with the most fatal consequences to the independence and liberties of Europe and of mankind. To Great Britain herself, though the danger may appear remote, from the remoteness of the source, perhaps no more is reserved than the melancholy privilege of being the last devoured. The spirit of humanity indignantly rises at such unprovoked and unprincipled attacks upon the independence and the freedom of a nation. In the subjugation and dismemberment of Poland, the spirit of three European powers is sufficiently manifested; and that man who does not feel himself actuated by the strongest resentment at such violations of every thing that is laudable and right, must necessarily be deficient either in sense or in honesty. Against a combination so hostile to the felicity of mankind, nothing will act as a counterpoise, but a firm union among the weaker states; such a measure, whatever be their form of government, or their political principles, it will be their undoubted interest to adopt. The alarm which has been raised against the extension and adoption of democratic principles, and the ill conduct of the French, which no good member of society would endeavour to extenuate, have caused a considerable portion of the people of Europe to lose sight of the real danger that besets them; but it is to be hoped that common sense and reflection will soon return, and that in fighting for a shadow, the nations of Europe will not expose themselves to the imminent danger of losing the substance*.

The ready concurrence of the king of Poland in a measure adapted to promote the welfare of his people, and the animated support which he gave to the new constitution, evinced the goodness of his heart, and the liberality of his principles; but here the eulogium must end. On his Polish majesty, the praise of political sagacity, of foresight, of activity, or even of

* New Annual Register for 1792.

courage, cannot be bestowed. Lulled into a fatal security by the insidious professions of a court, noted for its perfidy, as well as for its versatile and selfish politics,—a court which appeared to promote the revolution, while it meditated secretly the dismemberment of Poland, the unfortunate monarch seems to have neglected every means of defence; nor was even the hesitating and undecided conduct of Saxony sufficient to excite his vigilance. No alliances were formed, no preparations made for supporting with vigour the infant constitution. In the predicament in which Poland then stood, if Prussia was averse to forming a permanent and sincere alliance, or if the faith of Prussia could not be depended upon; if Great Britain had been found intractable, and determined to sacrifice her real interests and those of Europe to the ambition of Prussia, it was then the part of Poland to look forward to other connections, to cultivate, if possible, the friendship of France, of Denmark, and of Sweden. Such a combination, founded upon the moderate principle of mutual defence, would have successfully resisted the most determined attacks of Imperial plunderers. Something of this kind ought to have been attempted; but the Polish ministry permitted itself to be amused by fruitless negotiations at the court of Dresden, by the vague professions of Prussia, nor was it even roused to action by the cool reception which its ambassador experienced from the haughty despot of Vienna. This neglect, great as it was, was even exceeded by the indifference of the king as to the means of internal defence. While the discontented nobles, who from personal resentment, or disappointed ambition, manifested the most earnest hostility to the constitution; while these were openly received and encouraged at Petersburg, neither the standing force of Poland was properly organized, nor the militia embodied. Not a magazine was erected, nor an entrenchment thrown up to

oppose the entrance of the enemy. It was all a
 A. D. 1792. dead calm, and the Russians appeared upon their
 frontiers before the diet had recovered from its
 surprise at the first hostile declaration of the empress.

The progress of the armies of Catherine was marked with devastation and cruelty; while, such was the aversion of the people both to the cause and the manner of conducting it, that, as they approached, the country all around became a wilderness, and scarcely a human being was to be seen. In the mean time, a series of little defeats, to which the inexperience of the commanders, and the intemperate valour of new raised troops, appear to have greatly contributed, served at once to distress and to dispirit the defenders of their country. Prince Poniatowski continued to retreat, and on the

17th of July, his rear being attacked by a very superior force, it suffered a considerable loss, though the skill and courage of general Kosciusko enabled him to make a most respectable defence. On the 18th, a general engagement took place between the two armies. The Russian line extended opposite to Dubienka, along the river Bug, as far as Opalin. The principal column, consisting of fourteen thousand men, was chiefly directed against the division of general Kosciusko, which consisted of five thousand men only. After a most vigorous resistance, in which the Russians lost upwards of four thousand men, and the troops of the republic only some hundreds, the latter was compelled to give way before the superior numbers of the enemy, and to retire further into the country.

This unequal contest was, at last, prematurely terminated. The king, whose benevolent intentions were, perhaps, overpowered by his mental imbecility, and whose age and infirmities, probably, rendered him unequal to the difficulties and dangers which must attend a protracted war, instead of putting himself, according to his first resolve, at the head of his army, determined at once to surrender at discretion. On the 23d of July he summoned a council of all the deputies at that moment in Warsaw. He laid before them the last dispatches from the empress, which insisted upon total and unreserved submission. He pointed out the danger of a dismemberment of the republic should they delay to throw themselves upon the clemency of the empress, and to intreat her protection. He mentioned the fatal union of Austria and Prussia with Russia, and the supineness manifested by every other court in Europe; the combination formed by crowned heads against the rights and liberties of men, and the little spirit which was manifested for the maintenance of those sacred rights.

Four citizens, the intrepid and patriotic Malachowski, the princes Sapieha, Radzvil, and Soltan, vehemently protested against these dastardly proceedings; and the following evening a company of gentlemen, from the different provinces, assembled for the same purpose. The assembly waited immediately on these four distinguished patriots, and returned them their acknowledgements for the spirit of firmness with which they had resisted the spirit of despotism. The submission of the king to the designs of Russia, was no sooner made known, than Poland was bereft of all her best and most respectable citizens. Malachowski, as marshal of the diet, and prince Sapieha, grand marshal of Lithuania, entered strong protests on the journals of the diet against these hostile proceedings,

and declared solemnly that the diet legally assembled in 1788 was not dissolved.

On the 2d of August, a confederation was formed at Warsaw, of which the grand apostate, Potocki, was chosen marshal. The acts of this confederation were evidently the despotic dictates of Russia, and were calculated only to restore the ancient abuses, and to place the country under the aggravated oppression of a foreign yoke. By some succeeding transactions, it has appeared, that the unhappy country of Poland is to be converted into a province of Russia. It is intended, if credit may be given to report, to be governed by the grandson of the present empress, prince Constantine Paulowitz, under the title of king, but we may well conceive, only as a dependant part of the Russian empire. The supineness of the king of Prussia, with regard to the performance of his engagements, will not, however, in all probability, pass without a reward. Thorne, and Dantzic, the possession of which he has long had in view, with some additional territory, will at least fall to his share in the partition; nor will Austria be satisfied without a part.

It is remarkable, that at the very moment when Poland was surrendering its liberties to its despotic invaders, the generous sympathy of Great Britain was evinced by a liberal subscription, supported by all the most respectable characters in the nation, of *every party* and of *every sect*, for the purpose of assisting the king and the republic to maintain their independence. Though the benevolent design was frustrated, the fact remains on record as a noble testimony of the spirit of Britons in the cause of freedom, of the indignation which fills every British heart at the commission of injustice, and of the liberality with which they are disposed to assist those who suffer from the oppression of tyrants.

Thus, in one instance, the concert of princes, as it is called, has proved fatally victorious over the cause of man. Thus the growing happiness of a respectable nation has been sacrificed to the personal ambition of three despotic sovereigns. Thus the citizens of a free republic are by one blow reduced to be the abject slaves of tyrants. Thus the balance of Europe, so much the theme of politicians, and perhaps so necessary to the permanent welfare of Europe, has been sacrificed to private and to selfish views, while those nations who have on former occasions devoted millions of lives, and expended countless sums in maintaining it, view with frigid tranquillity the fatal increase of despotic authority.

Whatever be the real object of this combination, it is such as no sound politician can observe with indifference. The precedent

precedent is fatal, the proceedings are ominous; if the object is ultimately the gratification of personal ambition in the parties concerned; if they have really, as some are disposed to believe, formed a secret agreement to divide among themselves, as suits their interest or their inclination, or as opportunity permits, the territory of Europe; if, as in the case of Poland, they may without a shadow of pretence, without a cause of complaint, without any legal claim or interest, invade and subjugate a country, merely because it is too weak to oppose them;—then the citizens of free states have indeed cause to tremble;—then the opulent part of every community have cause to fear for their possessions, since a respect for property never has been the creed of conquering despots;—then the enlightened part of mankind may weep over the fate of their fellow creatures; and every individual who would not wish to change the government under which he lives for the most tyrannical and oppressive, may have cause to imprecate the interposition of Providence, to put a stop to a system which threatens the subversion of all that is dear or valuable of temporal enjoyments.

The wisdom of our ancestors, and the keen penetration of our own William, saw the necessity of vigorously opposing the encroaching ambition of Louis XIV. They successfully withstood him: they formed a league that was powerful, because it combined a variety of interests, before jarring and opposed to each other. The scheme of universal empire, which Louis had formed, was by no means so chimerical as it is regarded now when the danger is past, and when it is only viewed as an abortive effort. But the project of Louis was in reality not founded upon fancy, but upon precedent. It was frequently realized by Charles V. Nothing but the sagacity, zeal, and activity of William; the conviction which he impressed upon the lesser states of Europe, and the alliance which on these principles he formed, could have defeated the views of the French monarch. The concert which is now established, is no doubt more formidable than the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV. The overthrow of the independent governments of Europe, will now not depend upon the exertions of one people, nor upon the efforts of one man, but upon the united force of the three greatest powers upon earth; acting, it is probable, upon a preconcerted system, and who can have no cause for disagreement among themselves, while there is one independent state remaining, whose territory they can appropriate or divide.

There is no class of men in any state that enjoys a portion of liberty, which ought not to be alarmed at such a precedent. Even those who subsist by the abuses of a free government,

those who receive the wages of corruption, ought to remember that they are only gainers by the general freedom of the government, that where force can command, influence becomes unnecessary. Where despotism is established, and in proportion as it is established, every class of men becomes alike insignificant. Aristocracy itself is only a *Corinthian column*, where it rests on the durable basis of public liberty, where its foundation at least has been popular. There is scarcely any distinction of family, honour, consequence, or merit. The upstart greatness of a Potemkin or a Pombal would create astonishment in England; but in a country where nobility itself is debased, the circumstance excites no surprize.

It is of little importance whether such a project is the dictate of policy and previous concert, or whether it may be the casual result of a peculiar combination of circumstances; the effects will be equally fatal. The nobleman, the legislator, all those whose influence and consequence depend upon a balance between the democratical and regal powers, will find themselves as to efficiency and consequence completely annihilated. Such was once the system of Europe; and philosophers and authors, perhaps, ascribe too much to their own peculiar functions, when they say that the progress of science and literature will never permit it to be so again.

With regard to the arts and sciences, though Copernicus, the great restorer of the true astronomical system, and some other learned men, were natives of Poland, yet its soil is far from being favourable to learning. The contempt which the nobility, who place their chief importance in the privileges of their rank, have ever shewn for learning, and the servitude of the lower people, have wonderfully retarded, and, notwithstanding the liberal efforts of his present majesty, still continue to retard the progress of letters in this kingdom. However, of late a taste for science hath spread itself among the nobles, and begins to be regarded as an accomplishment,

C H A P. XXVII.

P R U S S I A.

*Original Inhabitants—Teutonic Knights—Standing Army
of Frederic William—Frederic III.*

PRUSSIA, which has lately made so great a figure in the affairs of Europe, is the most recent and limited monarchy on the continent. It was originally inhabited by a powerful race of people, called the Venedi, who extended themselves all along the south side of the Baltic. On the Venedi removing to the more western provinces, the Borussi, who had migrated from the foot of the Riphæan mountains, possessed themselves of this country, which they called Borussia, now corrupted into Prussia. It was divided into twelve provinces by Venedus, one of the Borussian princes, who is recorded to have given them to his twelve sons. They made a noble stand against the kings of Poland, and continued independent, as well as Pagans, till they were conquered by the Knights of the A. D. 1227, Teutonic order, who returning to Europe after the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land by Saladin, obtained grants of settlements in Italy, Germany, Hungary, and other European countries. A long series of wars ensued, in which the original inhabitants of Prussia were almost extirpated by these religious and military knights. The remainder, oppressed beyond all human tolerance by their conquerors, at last revolted, and implored the aid of Casimir IV. king of Poland, who invaded Prussia, and after a bloody war of twelve years duration, a peace was concluded, in which it was agreed, that the part called Polish Prussia should continue under the protection of Poland, and that the Teutonic Knights should possess the other parts, but acknowledge themselves vassals to the sovereign of Poland. The knights, disdainful of the vassalage, made frequent attempts to shake it off, till at last Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, grand master of the order, embracing the doctrines of Luther, and willing to aggrandize himself at the expence of the knights, agreed to share Prussia, with his uncle, Sigismund I. King of Poland, on condition of paying homage for the protection of that crown. The proposal was accepted. Albert took the title of Duke in his new territory: hence the present kingdom is called Ducal Prussia, and that part in possession of Poland, and on the western side of the Vistula,
Regal

Regal Prussia *. Thus ended the sovereignty of the Teutonic order in Prussia, after it had subsisted three centuries.

Brandenburgh remained long in subjection to Poland; and the investiture of Prussia was granted by the Polish Kings to each succeeding Margrave. Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburgh, surnamed the Great, had Ducal Prussia confirmed to him and his heirs. Being freed from vassalage by Casimir King of Poland, he and his descendants were declared independent and sovereign lords of this part of Prussia, with these titles, and as grand masters of the Teutonic; till Frederic, son of Frederic-William the Great, raised the duchy of Prussia to a kingdom, and

A. D. 1701. in a solemn assembly of the states of the empire, placed the crown with his own hands upon his head, and that of his consort; soon after which he was acknowledged as King of Prussia, by all the other Christian powers. In memory of this event, he instituted the order of the Black Eagle †.

His son, Frederic-William, who succeeded to the crown, was a wise and politic prince. A number of useful and magnificent foundations rendered his reign glorious. "If we may be said to owe the shade of the oak," observes the royal historian, "to the acorn from which it sprung; in like manner we may discern, in the sagacious conduct of Frederic-William, the source of the future greatness of his successor ‡."

By rigid œconomy, he amassed a prodigious treasure, though he maintained for his own security an army of sixty thousand men. At his death, he is said to have left seven millions sterling in his treasury, which enabled his son, by his wonderful victories, and the more wonderful resources by which he repaired his defeats, to become the admiration of the present age. Frederic III. improved the arts of peace, as well as of war, and distinguished himself as a poet, philosopher, and legislator.

The Prussian is not one of those ancient monarchies which had their origin in the distant ages of confusion, and which established and gradually aggrandized themselves, rather by accidental events and the changes of time, or the weakness of nations, than by the extraordinary genius of their sovereigns. It is a new monarchy like that of Macedon, under Philip and Alexander, which has been created in a short space of time; not by those great means that hazard and good fortune, and,

* *Memoirs de Brandenbourg.* † *Universal History.* ‡ *Memoirs de Brandenbourg.*

above all, the marriages of sovereigns occasion; but principally by the superior qualities of a creative genius; by exalted virtues, civil and military; by the employment of politics just, safe, and active; by that vastness of head and heart, which knows how to transpose itself into the people, and inspire a national cast for courage, industry, activity, and glory. The Prussian monarchy shines to-day without dispute in the first class of sovereignties, and can take a decided part for the preservation of the equilibrium in Germany and Europe. A conclusion then can be drawn with tolerable certainty, that a monarch of Prussia merits preferably the suffrage and confidence of Europe, and all the princes of Germany, for it is his proper interest to be just, to be the defender of the balance and of general liberty.

The happy state of the Prussian monarchy will depend always on the genius and activity of its sovereigns. A Frederic III. was absolutely necessary in order to give to his state a degree of power, which puts it on a level with the first monarchies of Europe; to assure it a consistence, which will be so long permanent as the maxims of good government be observed; and to make it perform the brilliant, although dangerous and difficult part, which it is obliged to sustain on account of the local position of the monarchy, for its own proper preservation, that of the balance of Germany and of Europe. The great Frederic died in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after a glorious reign of forty-six years, and was succeeded by Frederic-William, his nephew, and son of his brother William Augustus.

C H A P. XXVIII.

S P A I N.

Early History of Spain—Conquered by the Saracens—Expulsion of the Moors and Jews—Charles V.—Philip II.—Charles III.—General Elliot—Siege of Gibraltar—Cervantes.

SPAIN has, in every age, invariably preserved the same limits; the Pyrenean mountains, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic ocean. Its native inhabitants were divided
into

into a number of small independent tribes, of which those called the Celtiberians, Cantabrians, and Asturians, were the most powerful. Prior to the conquests of the Carthaginians, we know nothing of the transactions of these barbarians. This opulent and powerful state subdued all the southern parts of Spain, where they built Gades, now called Cadiz. These were dispossessed by the Romans, who gradually reduced the whole country to a Roman province, in which situation it flourished four centuries under the protection of the emperors. During this period, Spain enjoyed perfect tranquillity and domestic happiness. Its cities were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade*.

On the decline of the Roman empire, in the beginning of the fifth century, this remote and sequestered country became a prey to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; barbarians that poured with an irresistible torrent from the frontiers of Gaul to the sea of Africa, and fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. In the division which they made of the kingdom, Galicia was shared between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthagera and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean; and the fruitful territory of Bæotica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation*. At the request of the Roman emperor. Honorius, the Gothic King, Adolphus, who had married his sister Placidia, turned his arms against the barbarians of Spain, whom he subdued, and founded the kingdom of the Goths, called the Visigoths. His palace was at Barcelona. The last of the Gothic kings in Spain, was Roderic. In his time, the Mahometan religion was established in many countries. Mahomet, its founder, who had erected at Mecca a spiritual and temporal kingdom, died in 632, and his countrymen, the Arabs or Saracens, soon after over-ran great part of Asia. They were masters of Mauritania, now Barbary, when count Julian, whose daughter king Roderic had dishonoured, implored their aid. With a powerful army they crossed
A. D. 712. the Straits, invaded Spain, and, by the decisive battle of Xeres in Andalusia, subverted the kingdom of the Visigoths, in that region of Europe. A small remnant of the Gothic monarchy maintained itself

* Gibbon,

† Playfair.

among the mountains of Asturia, where Pelagius, the successor of Roderic, retired with a multitude of Christians, and founded the little kingdom of Asturias, or Oviedo, as it was afterwards called, which he defended by his valour, and transmitted to his posterity. Garcias Ximenes also founded the kingdom of Navarre, which became one of the most considerable Christian principalities in Spain*.

Spain, thus conquered by the Saracens, was allotted to governors dependent on the viceroy of Africa, till a revolution happened in the Mahometan government, which gave birth to another in Spain. Civil wars arose among the Moslem themselves, which the caliphs, or vicars, the successors of Mahomet, were unable to quell. At length that august dignity, which included both the highest regal and sacerdotal eminence, passed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abassides. Abdurrahman, called also Almanzor, a prince of the Omaad line, not finding himself secure in Afric, fled into Spain, where he founded an independent kingdom, including all the provinces that had been subject to the Moorish government. He fixed his residence at Cordoua, which he made the seat of the arts, of magnificence, and pleasure. This family kept possession of the throne about three hundred years. In the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abdurrahman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordoua was dismembered. The haughty grandees usurped the title of king, and many petty principalities were founded on the ruins of this great empire. Toledo, Valencia, Seville, Saragossa, and almost every city in Spain, were governed by an independent sovereign. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in the same manner among the Christians. In this divided state, Spain long remained; and wars were continually carried on between the Christians and Moors. This was the age of gallantry and knight-errantry. Besides the A. D. 1056. many kings at this time in Spain, who amounted to near the number of twenty, there were also many independent lords, who came on horseback completely armed, and followed by several squires, to offer their service to the princes and princesses engaged in war. The princes with whom these lords engaged, girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder, and hence the origin of knights-errants, and of the number of single combats which so long desolated Spain. Of all the Spanish knights, Don Rodrigo, surnamed

* Universal History.

the Cid, distinguished himself most eminently against the Moors, under Ferdinand II. King of Castile *.

In the fifteenth century, all the kingdoms in Spain, Portugal excepted, were united, by the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, to Isabella, sister of Henry IV. King of Castile. Ferdinand conquered Grenada, which completed the extinction of the kingdom of the Moors in Spain, after it had continued about eight years. All the Moors and Jews who would not be converts to the Christian Faith, to the number of one hundred and seventy thousand families were banished. Thus Spain was in a manner depopulated of artists, labourers, and manufacturers; and the discovery of America not only added to that calamity, but rendered the remaining Spaniards most deplorably indolent. To complete their misfortunes, Ferdinand and Isabella introduced the Popish inquisition, with all its horrors, into their dominions, as a safe-guard against the return of the Moors and Jews.

Charles V. of the house of Austria, and emperor of Germany, succeeded to the throne of Spain, in A. D. 1516. right of his mother, who was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The extensive possessions of the house of Austria in Europe, Africa, and, above all, America, from whence he drew immense treasures, began to alarm the jealousy of neighbouring princes, but could not satisfy the ambition of Charles; and we find him constantly engaged in foreign wars, or with his own protestant subjects, whom he in vain attempted to bring back to the Catholic Church. He also reduced the power of the nobles in Spain, abridged the privileges of the commons, and greatly extended the regal prerogative. At last, after a long and turbulent reign, he came to a resolution that filled all Europe with astonishment, the withdrawing himself entirely from any concern in the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude †. Agreeably to his resolution, he resigned Spain and the Netherlands, with great formality, in the presence of his principal nobility, to his son Philip II. but could not prevail on the princes of Germany to elect him emperor, which dignity they conferred on Ferdinand, Charles's brother, thereby dividing the dangerous power of the house of Austria into two branches; Spain, with all its possessions in Africa and the New World, also the Netherlands, and some Italian states, remained with the elder branch, whilst the empire, Hungary, and Bohemia fell to the lot of the younger, which they still possess.

* Stuart. † Dr. Robertson.

The reign of Philip II. is an interesting object of attention. He was a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive, and inexorable tyrant. He married Mary of England and by his influence involved that kingdom in a war against France. Italy and the low countries were the scene of hostilities; and the French being defeated by the combined armies of England and Spain, in the famous battle of St. Quintin, Philip erected the Escorial, a palace in the neighbourhood of Madrid, in honour of the victory. Zealous for the catholic religion, he resolved to extirpate heresy from his dominions. A sanguinary persecution followed; and seven provinces of the Netherlands formed a league of union in the common defence of their civil and religious liberties. They chose William I. Prince of Orange, their general, admiral, and chief magistrate, with the title of Stadtholder. This treaty was signed at Utrecht, in the year 1579. On the death of Don Henry, King of Portugal, there arose a competition for the vacant throne. Philip, victorious over his competitors, obtained that kingdom, and annexed it to his dominions*. The Spanish monarch afterwards projected the conquest of England, and equipped the Invincible Armada. The Spaniards were defeated, and their armament totally destroyed. In the midst of forming new plans for the support of popery, Philip died.

Spain, which during the reign of Philip II. had been one of the most formidable powers in Europe, now declined in her influence. Philip III. succeeded A. D. 1598. to the crown. The finances were in a most disordered state. He was compelled to conclude a disadvantageous peace with the Dutch. He expelled the remaining Moors and Jews from Spain; and his court became a scene of faction and intrigue. Under Philip IV. the disorders of the kingdom increased. The losses and defeats of the Spaniards in all parts were very great. Brazil was taken by the Dutch and Catalonia revolted to France. Portugal, exasperated with a load of taxes, rebelled. The Duke of Braganza, whose father had been deprived of his right to the crown of Portugal by Philip II. caused himself to be proclaimed king, and was acknowledged by the whole nation under the title of John IV. From this period, Portugal has been independent. He died in 1665, leaving the Spanish crown to his infant son, Charles II. two years old. His continual ill state of health made his death daily expected. There being no prospect of issue, a secret treaty of partition was entered into by William of England, Louis of France,

* Dr. Watson.

and the States of Holland, that on the eventual demise of the king of Spain, his dominions should be divided among them: Charles, in order to defeat this scheme, signed a will by which he left the whole to Philip Duke of Anjou, second son of Louis, Dauphin of France, who succeeded under the name of Philip V.

Philip IV. left two daughters; the eldest, Maria Theresa, married to the King of France, and the other to the emperor; both these princes, therefore, took up arms about the right of succession. The emperor refusing to acknowledge his title, entered into a treaty with the King of England, and the States General of the United Provinces; the avowed object of which was, "To procure satisfaction to his Imperial majesty, in regard to the Spanish succession; to obtain security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; to prevent the union of the two great monarchies of France and Spain; and to hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America." This confederacy, which was called the Grand Alliance, kindled the flames of war, and involved great part of Europe in blood, till the peace of Utrecht confirmed him in his dignity.— This weak, but virtuous prince, the first of the house of Bourbon who sat on the Spanish throne, died in 1746, leaving the crown to his son, Ferdinand VI. a mild and peaceable prince, who reformed many abuses, and wanted to promote the commerce and prosperity of his kingdom. Ferdinand was succeeded by his brother Charles III. then King of Naples and the two Sicilies. He entered into a cor-

A. D. 1761. —respondence with the court of Versailles, which terminated in the famous *Family Compact*, concluded by the four sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, against England and her allies. This compact produced mutual declarations of war by the courts of London and Madrid, and the greatest preparations were made by both for commencing hostilities with vigour and effect. The year following put an end to the war, and restored peace to Europe. The year 1767 is memorable for the expulsion of the Jesuits.

When the war between Great Britain and her American colonies had subsisted for some time, and France had taken part with the latter, the court of Spain was also prevailed upon to commence hostilities against Great Britain. The Spaniards began their first operations, by closely besieging Gibraltar both by sea and land; it having been always a great mortification to them that this fortress should be possessed by the English. The siege was continued throughout the war

with occasional fierce attacks on both sides, though what the garrison had chiefly to dread was famine, and so soon did this begin to make its appearance, that about the middle of January, 1780, not only bread, but every article necessary to the support of life, was hard to be procured, and only to be purchased at exorbitant prices. Veal, mutton and beef, sold from two shillings and sixpence, to four shillings per pound; fresh pork from two to three shillings; salt beef and pork, one shilling and three pence per pound; fowls, eighteen shillings per couple; ducks, a guinea; and other articles in proportion*. And though they were frequently relieved, yet the same difficulties very frequently returned. However, the garrison still held out; and though the Spanish army and train of artillery continued daily to encrease, the utmost efforts in their power seemed to be insufficient to make the least impression on this impregnable fortress. So little regard indeed was paid to the formidable preparations of the Spaniards, that even from the beginning of the siege, it had been customary with General Elliot the governor to allow them to bring their works to perfection, and then to demolish them. The more frequently the besiegers were disappointed, the more eager they seemed to accomplish their point. The most prodigious number of cannon, mortars, and all other destructive engines of that kind, which perhaps ever were assembled, in any one enterprize, were now brought before a single fortress, without being able to make the least impression upon it. By the violence of their fire, indeed, the houses were reduced to ruins, and the inhabitants were obliged to remove to England, but the fortifications of the place were scarce ever damaged in the least. The soldiers were so much accustomed to shells falling and bursting near them, that they became in a manner insensible of the danger; and their officers were frequently obliged to call them to avoid them, when just ready to burst at their feet. The grand attack was on the 13th of September, under the command of the duke de Crillon, by ten battering ships, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burden, carrying in all two hundred and twelve brass guns entirely new, and discharging shot of twenty-six pounds weight. The showers of shot and shells which were directed from them, from their land-batteries, and on the other hand from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a scene, of which perhaps neither the pen nor the pencil can furnish an adequate idea. It is sufficient to say, that *four hundred pieces* of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment;

* Captain Drinkwater.

an instance which has scarcely occurred in any siege since the invention of those wonderful engines of destruction. The irresistible impression of the red hot balls, which were sent from the garrison in such numbers, and in such directions, was soon conspicuous; for in the afternoon smoke was perceived to issue from the admiral's ship and another; and by one in the morning several were in flames, and numbers of rockets were thrown from each of their ships as signals of distress. To rescue from the flames those who were now incapable of acting as enemies, could not be done without the greatest hazard, by reason of the blowing up of the ships, and the previous discharge of the guns as the fire reached them. Yet, in defiance of every danger, brigadier Curtis distinguished himself in an eminent manner in this humane undertaking, and with twelve gun-boats saved nine officers, two priests, and three hundred and thirty-four men, all Spaniards, besides one officer, and eleven Frenchmen, who had floated in the preceding evening. Thus ended all the hopes of the Spaniards of reducing the fortress of Gibraltar. But great as was the bravery of the British garrison, which deserves every encomium, the small numbers of the killed and wounded are alone sufficient to shew that they must have been assisted by very strong fortifications, or it was impossible that any skill whatever could have resisted such a tremendous

A. D. 1783. power. Some trifling operations continued on the side of the Spaniards till the restoration of peace.

Charles III. used such pains to oblige his subjects to desist from their ancient dress and manners, and carried his endeavours so far, that it occasioned an insurrection at Madrid, and obliged him to part with his minister, the marquis of Squillace; thereby affording an instance of the necessity that even despotic princes are under, of paying some attention to the inclinations of their subjects. He died on the

A. D. 1788. 13th of November; and was succeeded by his second son, Charles Anthony, prince of Asturias; the eldest, who died in 1775, having been declared incapable of inheriting the crown, through an invincible weakness of understanding.

With regard to *literature*, the Spaniards have excellent capacities, but despotism is unfavourable to learning. Such was the gloom of the Austrian government, that took place with the emperor Charles V. that the inimitable Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, born at Madrid, in 1549, enlisted in a station little superior to that of a common soldier, and died neglected, after fighting bravely for his country at the battle of Lepanto, in which he lost his left hand. His satire

upon

upon knight errantry in his adventures of Don Quixote, did as much service to his country by curing them of that ridiculous spirit as it now does honour to his own memory. He was in prison for debt when he composed the first part of his history, and is perhaps to be placed at the head of moral and humorous satirists. The visions of Quevedo, and some other of his humorous and satirical pieces, having been translated into the English language, have rendered that author well known in this country. Lopez de Vega, who was contemporary with our Shakspeare excelled as a dramatic poet. He possessed an imagination astonishingly fertile, and wrote with great facility. Some of the Spaniards have distinguished themselves in the polite arts, and not only the cities but the palaces, especially the Escorial, discover many striking specimens of their abilities as sculptors and architects.

CHAP. XXIX.

P O R T U G A L.

Ancient Inhabitants—Lisbon made a Free Port—Discoveries of the Portuguese—A dreadful Earthquake—Indisposition of her Present Majesty.

THE kingdom of Portugal shared the fate of the other Spanish provinces, in the fall of the Roman empire, being successively subject to the depredations of the Suevi, the Goths, and Moors. It regained its liberty by the valour of Henry of Lorrain, grandson of Robert, king of France. This young prince assisted Alphonso king of Castile and Leon, so effectually against the Moors, that the Castilian monarch rewarded him with Theresa, his natural daughter, and that part of Portugal which had been recovered by the Christians from the Saracen invaders, with the title of earl, for her fortune.

His son Alphonso Henriquez, succeeded as earl; and having obtained a decisive victory over five Moorish kings, his soldiers proclaimed him king, and the Holy See confirmed his regal dignity. The kings of Portugal, like those of Spain, long spent their force in combating the Moors, and had no connection with the rest of Europe. A detail of those barbarous wars would be equally void of instruction and amuse-

ment. I shall therefore only observe, that the succession continued uninterrupted in the house of Alphonso, till the death of Ferdinand, when John of Castile, who had A. D. 1383. married the Infanta of Portugal, claimed the crown as the king had left no male issue. But the States of Portugal, after an inter-regnum of eighteen months, gave it to John, natural brother of their deceased sovereign.

This John, surnamed the bastard, no less politic than enterprising, proved worthy of his new dignity. Under the direction of his son, Prince Henry, a bold and enlightened genius, the Portuguese first projected discoveries in the western ocean. The island of Maderia, the Azores, and the Cape de Verd Islands, were discovered, and added to the dominions of Portugal. His great grandson, John II. a prince of the most profound sagacity and extensive views, first made Lisbon a free port. The Portuguese under this reign prosecuted their discoveries with ardour and success. The river Zara, on the other side of the line, conducted them to the kingdom of Congo, in the interior part of Africa, where they made easy conquests, and established an advantageous commerce. Captain Diaz passed the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*; but the king, who saw more fully the importance of that discovery, called it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Emanuel adopted the plan of his predecessors. He sent out a fleet under the command of Vasco de Gama, who encircled the eastern coast of Africa, and ranging through unknown seas, happily arrived at the city of Calicut on the coast of Malabar, on the higher part of the western side of the great peninsula of India. Other vessels were sent out under the command of Alvarez de Cabral, who discovered Brazil †. His son John III. admitted the new founded order of the Jesuits, of which he was a member, previous to any other European prince. He sent a multitude of missionaries to convert the eastern nations, and among the rest the famous Francis Xavier, founder of the order. Sebastian, his grandson, smitten with a passion for military glory, determined to signalize himself by an expedition against the Moors in Africa, where his ancestors had acquired so much renown, in which he and his army perished. After the death of his successor, many competitors for the crown appeared; among whom were Philip II. king of Spain, nephew to Henry by the mother's side; the duke of Braganza, married to the

• Universal History.

† Modern Voyages.

Grand-daughter of Emanuel; Don Antonio, prior of Crato, bastard of the Infant Don Lewis; the duke of Savoy, the duke of Parma, Catherine of Medicis, and Pope Gregory XIII. who, extraordinary as it might seem, attempted to renew the obsolete claim of the holy see to the sovereignty of Portugal. Philip prevailed over A. D. 1580. his rivals, and was proclaimed king of Portugal.

Portugal remained sixty years under the dominion of the kings of Spain. Irritated by the despotic rule of their Spanish governors, they had long sought to break their chain: At length the dissatisfaction became so general, that a plot was formed in favour of the duke of Braganza, whose grandfather had been deprived of his right to the crown by Philip II. The revolt began at Lisbon. John duke of Braganza was raised to the throne, under the title of John IV. almost without bloodshed, and Portugal became again an independent kingdom. The recovery of Brazil, which had been conquered by the Dutch, restored it, in a great measure, to its former lustre. His son Alphonfus succeeded, but on account of his cruelties was deposed, and the sceptre was transferred to his brother Peter II. who, by a dispensation from the pope, married the wife of his brother Alphonfus. He reigned peaceably thirty years, and left the crown to his son John V. under whose mild government the arts began to flourish. He, as well as his father, joined the grand confederacy formed by king William; but neither of them were of much service in humbling the power of France. On the contrary he almost ruined the allies, by occasioning the loss of the great battle of Almanza.

Joseph II. his son filled the throne on the death of his father. In this reign Portugal was visited by a more dreadful calamity than even war itself. The city of Lisbon was laid level with the ground by a tremendous earthquake; which was succeeded by a general conflagration, owing to the great number of lights burning at the altars in the churches and convents for the festivals of the *Auto de fe*, or Act of Faith, and to incendiaries, who, to pillage the city with greater security during the calamity, set fire to it in many parts. The English inhabitants making it a rule to retire into the country the day before the celebration of this festival, to avoid being insulted as protestants, were preserved; but upwards of ten thousand natives and foreigners lost their lives, and many of the survivors deprived of their habitations, and altogether destitute of the means of subsistence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not suffered to perish. The British parliament, though pressed with new

demands to prosecute a war they had just entered into against France, generously voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the relief of the unhappy sufferers; and this noble instance of public liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ships, laden with provisions and clothing, were immediately dispatched for Lisbon, where they arrived so opportunely, as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger and cold *.

When a war broke out between Spain and A. D. 1762. England, the Spaniards and their allies the French, attempted to force his faithful majesty into their alliance, and offered to garrison his sea-towns against the English with their troops. The king of Portugal rejected this proposal, and declared war against the Spaniards, who, without resistance, entered Portugal with a considerable army, while a body of French threatened it from another quarter. Some have doubted whether any of these courts were in earnest upon this occasion, and whether the whole of the pretended war was not concerted to force England into a peace with France and Spain, in consideration of Portugal's apparent danger. It is certain, that both the French and Spaniards carried on the war in a very dilatory manner, and that had they been in earnest, they might have been masters of Lisbon, long before the arrival of the English troops to the assistance of the Portuguese. Be that as it will, a few English battalions put an effectual stop, by their courage and manœuvres, to the progress of the invasion.

Portugal was saved, and a peace was concluded A. D. 1763. at Fontainebleau. Notwithstanding this eminent service performed by the English to the Portuguese, who often had been saved before in the like manner, the latter, ever since that period, cannot be said to have beheld their deliverers with a friendly eye. The most captious distinctions and frivolous pretences have been invented by the Portuguese ministers for cramping the English trade, and depriving them of their privileges.

His Portuguese majesty having no son, his eldest daughter was married, by dispensation from the pope, to Don Pedro, her own uncle, to prevent the crown from falling into a foreign family. The late king was succeeded by

A. D. 1777. his daughter, the present queen. One of the first acts of her majesty's reign was the removal from power of the marquis de Pombal, an event which excited general joy throughout the kingdom, as might naturally be expected from the arbitrary and oppressive nature of his

administration, though it has been alledged in his favour, that he adopted sundry public measures, which were calculated to promote the real interests of Portugal.

The queen, a few years ago, was deprived of the use of her reason. Dr. Willis went over A. D. 1789. from England to her assistance, and exerted his utmost skill to remove the disorder; but without success. As her majesty is far advanced in life, and her mental faculties are entirely deranged, it is very probable she will never recover.

CHAP. XXX.

SWISSERLAND.

Face of the Country—Ancient Inhabitants—Patriotism of William Tell—Swiss Allies—Calvin, Rousseau, Haller, and Lavater.

SWISSERLAND is a small romantic country lying upon the Alps, between France, Germany, and Italy. At first view, one would suppose it to be a chaos of barren rocks and craggy mountains, heaped one upon another; perpetual snows and gloomy vallies! a dreary, desolate, but sublime appearance! it looks like the ruins and wreck of a world, which could scarcely afford its wretched inhabitants the support of a calamitous life. On the contrary, however, it yields not only all necessaries, but likewise exports an abundance of many valuable commodities. The feet of the mountains, and sometimes also the very summits, are covered with vineyards, corn-fields, meadows, and pasture-grounds. "Sometimes," says a late traveller *, "a continued chain of cultivated mountains, richly clothed with woods, and studded all over with hamlets, cottages above the clouds, pastures which appear suspended in the air, exhibit the most delightful landscape that can be conceived; and in other places appear rugged rocks, cataracts, and mountains of a prodigious height, covered with ice and snow."—"Behold our walls and bulwarks," exclaimed a Swiss peasant, pointing to the mountains, "Constantinople is not so

* Mr. Cox.

* A a 4

"strongly

"strongly fortified. In short, Switzerland abounds with the most picturesque scenes; and here are to be found some of the most sublime exhibitions of nature, in her most awful and tremendous forms, and in those stupendous Alps, whose heads touch heaven."

The old inhabitants of this country were called Helvetii; they were defeated by Julius Cæsar, fifty-seven years before Christ, and the territory remained subject to the Romans, till it was conquered by the Alemans, A. D. 496.

German emigrants, who were expelled by Clovis, king of France. It underwent another revolution in 888, being made part of the kingdom of Burgundy. In 1032, it was given by the last king of Burgundy to Conrad II. emperor of Germany; from which time it was held as part of the empire, till the year 1307, when a very singular revolt delivered the Swiss cantons from the German yoke. Grissler, governor of these provinces for the emperor Albert, having ordered one William Tell, an illustrious Swiss patriot, under pain of death, to shoot at an apple placed on the head of one of his children; he had the dexterity, though the distance was very considerable, to strike it off without hitting the child. The tyrant perceiving that he had another arrow concealed under his cloak, asked him for what purpose? To which he boldly replied, "To have shot you to the heart, if I had had the misfortune to kill my son." The enraged governor ordered him to be hanged; but his fellow citizens, animated by his fortitude and patriotism, flew to arms, attacked and vanquished Grissler, who was shot to death by Tell, and the independency of the several states of this country, now called the Thirteen Cantons, under a republican form of government, soon after took place*.

Whether all the incidents of Tell's story be true or fabulous, the men whoever they were who roused and incited their fellow citizens to throw off the Austrian yoke, deserve to be regarded as patriots, having undoubtedly been actuated by that principle, so dear to every generous heart, the spirit of independence.

They with the gen'rous rustics' fate,
On Uri's rock in close divan;
And wing'd that arrow sure as fate,
Which ascertain'd the sacred rights of man.

If Swisserland were not a free country, it would not merit attention, but would be confounded in the lowest rank of a thousand provinces, which are condemned to obey masters,

* Puffendorf.

who never favour them even with their presence. When Leopold duke of Austria marched against them with an army of *twenty thousand* men, the Swiss behaved, on that occasion, just as the Lacedæmonians formerly had done at the Straits of Thermopylæ. A small body of *four or five hundred* men waited for the Austrian army at A. D. 1313. the pass of Morgate. But they were more fortunate than the Lacedæmonians; for they put the enemy to flight, only by rolling great stones down upon them*. As this victory was obtained in the canton of Switz, they agreed to give that name to their confederacy, because it would remind them of the victory to which they were indebted for their liberty. The canton of Berne, which now has the same weight in Swisserland as Amsterdam has in Holland, did not enter into the alliance till 1352; and it was not till the year 1513, that the little country of Appenzel joined the other cantons, which completed the number *thirteen*. Never did any nation fight longer and harder for their liberty than the Swiss. They gained it by sixty pitched battles with the Austrians; and, in all probability, they will preserve it to the latest posterity.—Seven of the Swiss cantons are Roman catholics, and six protestants.

The *Swiss allies* are those states, or small republics, which joined the Helvetic confederacy, are under their protection, and are included by other countries under the general name of Swisserland. The most celebrated of these are the *Valois*, the *Grisons*, the *republic of Geneva*, and the countries of *Neuchâtel* and *Valangin*.

With regard to *literature*, Calvin, whose name is so well known in all protestant countries, instituted laws for the city of Geneva, which are held in high esteem by the most learned of that country. The ingenious and eloquent Rousseau too, whose works the present age have received with so much approbation, was a citizen of Geneva. The justly celebrated Haller, a native of Berne, deserves the highest eulogy, as a poet, a physiologist, and a philosopher. Lavater, who is still living, has rendered himself famous by his *Essays on Physiognomy*, and his *Aphorisms on Man*.

* Voltaire.

C H A P. XXXI.

HOLLAND AND THE OTHER UNITED PROVINCES.

Original Government—Union under the Prince of Orange, afterwards elected Stadtholder—Massacre of the de Witts—Recent intestine Commotions settled by the King of Prussia.

THE United Provinces were originally an assemblage of several lordships, dependent upon the kings of Spain. The tyranny of Philip II. made the inhabitants attempt to throw off this yoke, which occasioned a general insurrection. The counts Hoorn and Egmont, and the prince of Orange, appearing at the head of it, and Luther's reformation gaining ground about the same time in the Netherlands, his disciples were forced by persecution to join the malecontents. Whereupon king Philip introduced a kind of inquisition, which, from the inhumanity of its proceedings, was called the *Council of Blood*, in order to suppress them; and many thousands were put to death by that court, besides those that perished by the sword*. The counts Hoorn and Egmont were taken and beheaded. William prince of Orange, however, formed the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with such others as lay most contiguous; Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Guelderland, in which the protestant interest predominated. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and signed that famous *Union*, in appearance so slight, A. D. 1579. but in reality so solid, of seven provinces independent of each other, actuated by different interests, yet as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic. It was agreed, that the Seven Provinces shall unite themselves in interest as *one* province, reserving to each individual province and city all its own privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; that in all disputes between particular provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators; and that they shall assist each other with life and fortune, against every foreign attempt upon any single province. The first coin struck after this alliance is strongly expressive of the perilous situation of the infant commonwealth. It represented a ship struggling amid the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto: *Incertum quo fata ferant*, "I know not what may be my fate †."

* Dr. Watson.

† Sir William Temple.

The states had indeed great reason for doubt. They had to contend with the whole power of the Spanish monarchy; and Philip, instead of offering them any equitable conditions, laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the union of Utrecht. But William was too patriotic to resign the interests of his country for any private advantage. These revoltors at first were thought so despicable, as to be termed *beggars* by them; but their perseverance and courage were such, under the prince of Orange, and the assistance afforded them by queen Elizabeth both in troops and money, that they forced the crown of Spain to declare them a free people*.

When the ambition of Lewis XIV. reduced the Dutch to the greatest difficulties, and like an inundation, levelled every thing before it, the celebrated de Witt, sensible of his error, in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to raise a respectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous crisis. But every proposal which he made for that purpose was opposed by the Orange faction, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the defenceless state of the republic; and their power, which had increased with the difficulties of the States, was become extremely formidable, by the popularity of the young prince, William III. now in the twenty-second year of his age, and who had already given strong indications of the great qualities, which afterward distinguished his active life. For these qualities William was not a little indebted to his generous and patriotic rival, de Witt, who, conscious of the precarious situation of his own party, had given the prince an excellent education, and instructed him in all the principles of government and sound policy, in order to render him capable of serving his country, if any future emergency should ever throw the government into his hands†.

The conduct of William had hitherto been highly deserving of approbation, and such as could not fail to recommend him to his countrymen. Though encouraged by England and Brandenburg, to which he was allied by blood, to aspire after the stadtholdership, he had expressed his resolution of depending entirely on the states for his advancement. The whole tenor of his behaviour was extremely suitable to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and silent, even in youth; ready to hear, and given to enquire; destitute of brilliant talents, but of a sound and steady understanding; greatly intent on business, little inclined to pleasure, he strongly engaged the hearts of all men. And the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had so glo-

* Universal History.

† Le Clerc.

riously protected them against the exorbitant power of Spain, were desirous of raising him to all the authority of his ancestors; as the leader whose valour and conduct could alone deliver them from those imminent dangers with which they were threatened*. In consequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander in chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. The struggle between the parties, however, still continued; and by their mutual animosities, the vigour of every public measure was broken, and the execution of every project retarded. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealousy, when its very political existence was threatened, the people rose at Dort, and forced their magistrates to sign the repeal of the Perpetual Edict. Other cities
A. D. 1671. followed the example, and the prince of Orange was declared Stadtholder.

This revolution was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the pensionary de Witt marked him out as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interposition of power. Cornelius de Witt the pensionary's brother, who had so often served his country with his sword, was accused by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poison the prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable, and even absurd circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magistrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature, and put to the torture, in order to extort a confession of his crime. He bore with the most intrepid firmness all that cruelty could inflict: but he was stript notwithstanding of his employments, and sentenced to banishment for life. The pensionary, who had supported his brother through the whole prosecution, resolved not to desert him in his disgrace. He accordingly went to his prison on purpose to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to the populace. They broke open the prison doors, pulled out the two brothers, and wounded, mangled, and tore them to pieces; exercising on their dead bodies acts of barbarity too horrid to relate †.

The massacre of the de Witts, by extinguishing for a time the animosities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the States. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the most implicit obedience

* Voltaire.

† Burnet. Temple.

to the prince of Orange, and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was descended, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with scorn those humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies; and, by his advice, the states put an end to negotiations which had served only to depress the courage of the citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies.

By their sea wars with England, the United Provinces have justly acquired the reputation of a formidable naval power. The occurrences which led to a rupture between them and the English, during the American war, have been already related. As it was A. D. 1780. urged, that they refused to fulfil the treaties which subsisted between them and Great Britain, so all the treaties which bound Great Britain to them were declared null and void, as if none had ever existed. Probably, to their separation from this country, may be attributed the recent differences between the States General and the emperor of Germany, who, from the exhausted state of several of the European powers, seemed to have a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his ambitious designs.

During the progress of their contentions with the emperor, the states were greatly distressed by the most unhappy animosities within themselves. The continued series of losses, which they had sustained in the late war with Great Britain, was particularly disgraceful to the republic. The *patriots* attributed these disasters to the Stadtholder, who openly expressed his predilection for the English at the beginning of the American quarrel. They also proposed the following alterations in the Dutch constitution: "That the forms of the present government should continue to subsist, but that the States should become in every respect *completely independent* of the Stadtholder: That his right of recommending candidates for the vacant magistracies in the towns of Holland should cease: That the charges of Stadtholder and Captain-General should, if possible, be separated, and conferred on different persons; or that, at least, the titles only should be reserved to the prince of Orange, and the offices be executed, as in the time of the de Witts, by deputies chosen for that purpose. In general, that the Stadtholder should possess such powers only, as might enable him to execute the orders of the States." In this affair, the new king of Prussia offered his mediation; but that being refused, he applied to the court of France, to know whether they would co-operate with him in his pacific intention. On receiving a favourable answer, both monarchs

A. D. 1787. monarchs united their efforts to reconcile the contending parties, but all in vain; so that both ambassadors departed from the Hague.

This unfortunate event produced various accusations and vindications between the two parties, with a long train of negociations, resolutions, and animosities. Hostilities at last commenced, and a violent tumult took place at Amsterdam, excited by the partisans of the Stadtholder; in which several persons were killed. This was followed by a revolt of most of the regular troops of Holland, who went over to the Stadtholder; but notwithstanding this apparent advantage, and some others which afterwards took place, the dispute still continued with extreme violence, insomuch that the princess of Orange herself was seized, and detained a prisoner a night by the patriots. These most turbulent commotions, however, were at last happily settled by the king of Prussia, who, for this purpose, marched an army into the territories of the United States, and took possession of the city of Rotterdam, and some other places without resistance. This overawed both parties to such a degree, that they quickly came to an accommodation, and a treaty was concluded between that monarch and the States of Holland. By this the two contending parties were formally reconciled, and the courts of London and Berlin guaranteed the Stadtholdership, as well as the hereditary government of each province, in the house of Orange, with all the rights and prerogatives formerly settled in the family.

Though Holland be a republic, yet its government is far from being of the popular kind; nor do the people enjoy that degree of liberty, which might at first view be apprehended. It is, indeed, rather an oligarchy than a commonwealth; for the bulk of the people are not suffered to have the least share in any department of government, nor even in the choice of the deputies.

In respect to *science*, Erasmus and Grotius, who were both natives of this country, stand almost at the head of modern learning, as Boerhaave does of medicine. Haerlem disputes the invention of printing with the Germans; and the most elegant editions of the classics have come from the Dutch presses of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Leyden and other towns.

C H A P. XXXII.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Ancient Inhabitants, and Government—Revolutions—Lisle, Dunkirk, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp—Recent Disturbances.

THE Netherlands, called also the Spanish provinces, because formerly under the dominion of the Spaniards, are situated between France, Germany, and Holland. This country, originally inhabited by the ancient Belgæ, was conquered by Julius Cæsar forty-seven years before Christ. Having afterwards passed into the hands of France, it was governed by its earls, subject to that crown, for several centuries. By marriage it came into A. D. 1369. the house of Austria; but was yielded to Spain in 1556. It shook off the Spanish yoke in 1572*, and in the year 1725, by the treaty of Vienna, was annexed to the German empire.

The French, however, are still in possession of a considerable part of the Netherlands. Lisle is a very great, rich and strong town, belonging to France, and the chief town of French Flanders. Dunkirk was taken by Oliver Cromwel from the Spaniards, in 1658, but afterwards most shamefully sold to France by king Charles II. for five hundred thousand pounds, in 1662.

Ghent is the capital of that part of Flanders which belongs to the house of Austria. It is a very large town, but neither rich nor strong. The emperor Charles V. was born there, and his statue is upon a pillar in the middle of the great square. Brussels is the chief town of Brabant, where the best camblets are made, and most of the fine lace, that are worn in England. Antwerp was once the emporium of the European continent; but the Dutch, soon after they shook off the Spanish yoke, ruined the commerce of it, by sinking vessels, loaded with stone, in the mouth of the river Scheldt; thus shutting up for ever the entrance of that river to ships of burden.

A few years ago, the provinces of the Netherlands, belonging to the emperor, determined to assert their liberty. The quarrel originated, like those in other countries, about the prerogatives assumed by the emperor, and which were more exten-

* Dr. Watson.

five than his subjects wished to allow. The patriots first began to assemble in Dutch Brabant, and, being protected by the States General, soon became very strong; so that, in a short time, they manifested a design to assert their liberty by force of arms. The king of Prussia was then assembling an army, with which it was thought he designed to take some active part in the present affair; but he published a manifesto, declaring that he did not mean to interfere in the troubles of the Low Countries. Thus the emperor and the patriots were left to decide their quarrel by themselves; and in this contest the latter displayed a resolution, as well as power to accomplish their purposes, which was by no means generally expected. Almost every town in Austrian Flanders shewed its determination to oppose the emperor, and the most enthusiastic attachment to military affairs displayed itself in all ranks of men. Even the ecclesiastics manifested their valour on the occasion; which perhaps was naturally to be expected, as the emperor had been very active in depriving them of their revenues. A formidable army was soon raised, which after some successful skirmishes, made themselves masters of Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Malines, and Ostend; so that general Dalton was obliged to retire to Brussels. A battle was fought before the city of Ghent, in which the patriots were victorious, though with the loss of one thousand men, besides women and children. It reflects indelible disgrace on the Imperial character, as well as the commander of the troops, that they committed the most dreadful acts of cruelty on the unhappy objects who fell into their hands. Orders were given to plunder and destroy wherever they could obtain any booty; while the merciless savages not only destroyed the men, but killed women and sucking infants. Some of them plunged their bayonets into the bodies of children in the cradle, or pinned them against the walls of the houses. By these monstrous cruelties they insured success to their adversaries; for the whole countries of Brabant, Flanders, and Maes, almost instantly declared in their favour. They published a memorial for their justification, in which they gave as reasons for their conduct, the many oppressive edicts with which they had been harassed since the death of the empress-queen; the unwarrantable extension of the imperial prerogative, contrary to his coronation-oath, and which could not be done without perjury on his part; the violence committed on his subjects by forcibly entering their houses at midnight, and sending them prisoners to Vienna, to perish in a dungeon, or on the banks of the Danube. Not content with this, he had openly massacred his subjects; he had consigned towns and villages

to the flames, and entered into a design of exterminating people, who contended only for their rights. These things, they owned, might be terrible at the time, and easily impose upon their minds, but "the natural courage of a nation roused by repeated injuries, and animated by despair, would rise superior to those last efforts of vindictive tyranny, and render them as impotent and abortive, as they were wicked and unexampled." For all which reasons they declared themselves independent, and for ever released from the house of Austria.

The emperor now published proclamations of indemnity, but they were treated with the utmost contempt. The patriots made the most rapid conquests, insomuch, that before the end of the year they were masters of every place in the Netherlands, except Antwerp and Luxemburg. A new act of union was established between the Belgic provinces, to which all those formerly subject to Austria unanimously acceded. It originated between those of Flanders and Brabant, and was to the following purpose: That neither party ever enter into any compromise with their former sovereign, but by common-agreement. They agreed to change this union into one common sovereignty between the two states; so that the whole power should be entered in a congress composed of deputies named by both parties. The power of this sovereign assembly was to keep good order in the Belgic provinces of his Imperial majesty, by a general amnesty, and total forgiveness of whatever had passed during the troubles, under the guarantee of the said powers.

CHAP. I.

ITALY.

Revolutions of this Country.—Venice, Genoa, Milan, Piedmont, Tuscany, Mantua, Naples, and Sicily.—Vesuvius and Ætna.—Arts and Sciences.

THE empire of Charlemagne soon experienced the same fate with that of Alexander. Under his successors it was in a short time entirely dismembered. His son, Lewis le Debonair, succeeded to his dominions in France and Germany, while Bernard, the grandson of Charlemagne, reigned over Italy and the adjacent islands. But Bernard having lost his life by the cruelty of his uncle, against whom he had levied war, and Lewis himself dying, his dominions were divided among his sons, Lothario, Lewis, and Charles. Lothario, with the title

of emperor, retained Italy, Provence, and the fertile countries, situated between the Saone and the Rhine; Lewis had Germany; and France fell to the share of Charles, the youngest of the three brothers *. Shortly after this, Italy was ravaged by different contending tyrants, till A. D. 964.

Otho the Great reunited Italy to the Imperial dominions. Italy afterwards suffered much by the contests between the popes and emperors; it was harassed by wars and internal divisions; and at length various principalities and states were erected under different heads †.

Italy is now divided into twelve separate states or governments. Venice, Genoa, and Lucca, are republics; Mantua, Milan, Modena, Parma, Savoy, and Tuscany, are dukedoms; Piedmont is a principality, and Naples a kingdom. The *Land of the Church* makes the twelfth state, of which the capital is Rome, situated upon the Tiber, a very inconsiderable river, and navigated only by small boats, barges, and lighters. This is the residence of the Pope. Next to Rome, Bologna is the most considerable city in the ecclesiastical state.

The Venetian territories are as fruitful as any in Italy; the fields abounding with vineyards and plantations of mulberries. Venice, the capital, is seated upon seventy-two islands at the bottom of the north end of the gulf of Venice, and is separated from the continent by a marshy lake of five Italian miles in breadth, too shallow for ships to navigate, and contains nothing extraordinary grand, or beautiful. The government is aristocratic, under a chief magistrate, called a doge, who is very justly said to be a king as to robes, a senator in the council-house, a prisoner within the city, and a private man out of it ‡. The Venetians were formerly the most formidable maritime power in Europe. In 1194, they conquered Constantinople itself, and held it for some time, together with great part of the continent of Europe and Asia. The discovery of a passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, gave the first blow to their greatness, as it lost them the Indian trade. By degrees the Turks took from them their most valuable possessions on the continent; and so late as the year 1715, they lost the Morea.

The government of *Genoa* is aristocratical, being vested in the duke or doge, chosen every two years, and twelve counsellors, who are continually about him. The Genoese, for some time, disputed the empire of the Mediterranean sea with the Venetians, but were seldom or never able to maintain their own independency by land, being generally protected, and sometimes subjected, by the French and Imperialists §. The successful effort they made in driving the victorious Austrians out of their capital, during the war which

* Gibbon.

† Dr. Robertson.

‡ Strada.

§ Duvila.

was terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, has few parallels in history, and serves to shew A. D. 1748. the effects of despair under oppression.

The *Milanese*, the fairest portion of Italy, went through several hands; but fell at last into the hands of the emperor Charles V. who gave it to his son Philip II. king of Spain. It remained with that crown till the French were driven out of Italy by the Imperialists, who were dispossessed of it in 1743, but by the emperor's cession of Naples and Sicily to the king of Spain, it returned to the house of Austria, and is governed by a viceroy. The fertility and beauty of this country is almost incredible. *Milan*, the capital, and its citadel, is very strong.---The government of *Mantua* is annexed to Milan. Virgil was a native of this country.

The duchy of Parma is one of the most flourishing states in Italy of its extent. The duke's court is thought to be the politest of any in Italy. The first duke of Parma was natural son to pope Paul III. the duchy having been annexed to the holy see, by pope Julius II*. The descendants of the house of Farnese terminated in the late queen dowager of Spain, whose son, his present Catholic majesty, obtained that duchy; and his nephew now holds it, with the duchy of Placentia.

On the division of Italy, *Piedmont* and *Savoy* fell to the lot of the counts of Maurienne, the ancestors of his present Sardinian majesty, whose father became king of Sardinia, in virtue of the quadruple alliance concluded in 1718. Turin, the capital of Piedmont, is one of the finest cities in Europe. His Sardinian Majesty keeps his court there, and is so absolute, that his revenues consist of what he pleases to lay on his subjects. The aggrandizement of this monarch is chiefly owing to England, to whom, by his situation, he was esteemed a natural ally, for the preservation of the balance of power in Europe.

The great duchy of *Tuscany* belongs to the emperor of Germany. Florence is the principal city, which in respect of the curiosities worthy the attention of the traveller, exceeds every city in Italy, Rome alone excepted†. It is said, that few persons in Florence are known to have the sense of seeing in perfection; and indeed *Florentini ciechi*, or blind Florentines, is a common jest. Leghorn carries on a great trade; and several ships of very considerable force are now stationed on the Tuscan coasts, to prevent the depredations of the Barbary rovers and pirates.

* Bentivoglio.

† Brydone's Tour.

The kingdom of *Naples* is termed a paradise. From this tract, as the finest, the most fertile, and most delightful of all Italy, Virgil took the model of his Elysian Fields. No country has undergone greater vicissitudes of government than Naples or Sicily *, chiefly owing to the inconstancy of the natives, which seems to be incorporated with the air †. Christians and Saracens by turns conquered it. The Normans under Tancred drove out the Saracens, and established a most respectable monarchy. About the year 1066, the popes being then all powerful in Europe, their intrigues broke the succession of Tancred's line, and Naples and Sicily at last came into the possession of the French; and the house of Anjou, with some interruptions, and tragical revolutions, held the government, till the Spaniards drove them out in 1504, and the Sicilies were annexed to the crown of Spain. After swaying the Sicilian sceptre for upwards two hundred years, the kings of Spain were dispossessed in the year 1707, by the emperor Joseph; but the Spaniards again made an entire conquest of the country in 1735. The present king is Ferdinand IV. the son of his Catholic Majesty Charles III.

Mount Vesuvius, which is five Italian miles distant from the city of Naples, and Mount Ætna, in Sicily, are celebrated Volcanos, being remarkable for emitting fire from their tops. The declivity of Mount Vesuvius towards the sea, is every where planted with vines and fruit-trees, and it is equally fertile towards the bottom. The circumjacent plain affords a delightful prospect, and the air is clear and wholesome. The height of Mount Vesuvius has been computed to be 3000 feet above the surface of the sea. It hath been a Volcano beyond the reach of history or tradition. But though this mountain often fills the neighbouring country with terror, yet as few things in nature are so absolutely noxious as not to produce some good; even this raging volcano, by its sulphurous and nitrous manure, and the heat of its subterraneous fires, contributes not a little to the uncommon fertility, and to the profusion of fruits and herbage with which it is every where covered. Besides it is supposed that the mountain, being open and active, proves less hostile to Naples, than it would be, if its eruptions were to cease, and its struggles confined to its bowels *.

Mount Ætna is 10,954 feet in height, and has been computed to be 60 miles in circumference. It stands separate from all other mountains, its figure is circular and it ter-

* Naples and Sicily are generally called the Two Sicilies, the name of Sicily being common to both.

† Dr. Moore.

‡ Sir William Hamilton.

minates in a cone. The lower parts of it are very fruitful in corn and sugar cane; the middle abounds with woods, olive trees, and vines; and the upper part is almost the whole year covered with snow. Its fiery eruptions have always rendered it famous: in one of these, which happened in 1669, fourteen towns and villages were destroyed, and there have been several terrible eruptions since that time. There is generally an earthquake before any great eruption. In 1693 the port town of Catania was overturned, and 18,000 people perished.

With regard to the arts and sciences, the mathematics and natural philosophy owe much to Galileo, Toricelli, and several other Italians. Strada is an excellent historian; and the history of the council of Trent, by the celebrated Father Paul, is a standard work. Guiciardini, Bentivoglio, and Davila, have been much commended as historians by their several admirers. Machiavel is equally famous as an historian, and as a political writer. His comedies have much merit; and the liberality of his sentiments, for the age in which he lived, is amazing. Among the prose writers in the Italian language, Boccace has been thought one of the most pure and correct in point of style. He was a very natural painter of life and manners, but his productions are too licentious. Petrarch, who wrote both in Latin and Italian, revived among the moderns the spirit and genius of ancient literature: but among the Italian poets, Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, are the most distinguished. There are said to be upwards of a thousand comedies in the Italian language, though not many that are excellent: but Metastasio has acquired a great reputation by writing dramatic pieces set to music. Sannazarius, Bembo, Vida, and other natives of Italy, have distinguished themselves by the elegance, correctness, and spirit of their Latin poetry, many of their compositions approaching in some degree to the classics themselves. Socinus, who was so much distinguished by his opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity, was a native of Italy. The Italian painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians are unrivalled, not only in their numbers, but their excellencies. The revival of learning, after the sack of Constantinople by the Turks, revived taste likewise, and gave mankind a relish for truth, and beauty in design and colouring. Raphael, from his own ideas, assisted by the ancients, struck out a new creation by his pencil, and still stands at the head of painting. Michael Angeló Buonarrotti excelled at once in painting, sculpture, and architecture. The colouring of Titian has perhaps never yet been equalled. Bramante, Bernini, and many other Italians, carried

sculpture and architecture to an amazing height. Julio Romano, Correggio, Caraccio, Veronese, and others, are, as painters, unequalled in their several manners; the same may be said of Corelli, and other Italians, in music. At present, Italy cannot justly boast of any paramount genius in the fine arts.

C H A P. II.

THE OTTOMAN OR TURKISH EMPIRE.

The ancient Settlement of the Huns and Turks. — Othman, Bajazet and Tamerlane. — Establishment of the Turkish Monarchy on the Ruins of the Eastern Empire. — War with Russia. — Destruction of the Turkish Fleet. — Decline of the Ottoman Power.

THE Huns and Turks, originally the same people, descended from the ancient Scythians, who in the early ages migrating from the northern regions by the Caspian sea, and over mount Caucasus, established themselves in a tract of Asia, called Georgia a Tureomania*. Here they acquired strength, and soon over-ran Thrace. The history of this period is obscure and uninteresting, till Othman, one of their caliphs or princes, from whom the present sultans are descended, and to whom the Ottoman empire owes its name and establishment, seized on Bythinia, took the title of sultan, and fixed the seat of his government at Prusa†. His successor, restless, ambitious, and cruel, greatly extended the limits of their dominions. Amurath, grandson of Ottoman, first established the order of Janizaries under the form in which they at present subsist. In order to create a body of devoted troops, that might serve as the immediate guards of his person and dignity, the Sultan commanded his officers to seize annually, as the imperial property, the third part of the younger Christian males, taken in war. After being instructed in the Mahometan religion, inured to obedience by severe discipline, and trained to warlike exercise, these youths were formed into regular bands, distinguished by the name of *Janizaries*, or new soldiers. And as every sentiment which enthusiasm can inspire, and every mark of ho-

* The word Turk signifies a shepherd or peasant.

† Gibbon,

nour that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardour, and fill them with a sense of their own pre-eminence, the Janizaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies*.

Amurath being assassinated, as he was pursuing his victories, was succeeded by his son Bajazet, surnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt. This prince gained many important conquests, and rendered the Greek emperor, Manuel Paleologus, tributary to him. He at length laid siege to the city of Constantinople, and its fall seemed inevitable, when the fatal blow was diverted for that time by Timur Beck, a Tartarian prince, commonly called *Tamerlane*.

The dominions of the Moguls, or Western Tartars, extended from the Wolga to the frontiers of China, and as far as the river Ganges. Timur Beck, or Tamerlane, one of the princes of these Tartars, and a descendant of the famous Jenghiz Khan, their first emperor, was born in the city of Cassi, in the ancient Sogdiana, at present inhabited by the Usbecks. He subdued almost as great an extent of territory as his victorious ancestor, and in the sweep of his conquests, gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. Having subjected Persia, India, and Syria, the Greek emperor, and five Mahometan princes, whom the Sultan had unjustly stripped of their dominions, invited him into Asia Minor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Bajazet. Thus solicited, Tamerlane marched against the haughty Sultan. They met between Cæsaria and Ancyra, where all the forces of the world seemed assembled, and a great and terrible battle was fought. The dispute was long and obstinate, but fortune at length declared for Tamerlane. Bajazet himself was taken prisoner, and had the affliction to see one of his sons fall by his side, and the mortification to find another the companion of his chains. They were treated with great humanity, notwithstanding the vulgar story of the iron cage, in which the captive Sultan is said to have been shut up. Three hundred and forty thousand men are computed to have fallen on both sides†.

After the death of Bajazet civil wars and commotions prevailed in the Ottoman empire. Musa succeeded his father Bajazet, and on the death of Mahomet I. who had de-throned and put to death his brother Musa, Amurath II. the son of this Mahomet immediately sat down before Constantinople, but was obliged to raise the siege to quell the revolt of his brother Mustapha. This prince carried on hostilities with success against the Christians, but was op-

* Puffendorf.

† History of Timur Beck.

posed in his progress by George Castriot, commonly called Scanderbeg. His father was the hereditary prince of a small district of Albania, and, unable to contend with the sultan, delivered as the pledges of his fidelity, his four sons, who were educated in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the exercise of arms. The three elder perished without reputation, though not without suspicion of poison. But George soon distinguished himself by his courage and strength; and Iskender Beg *, or the lord Alexander, attained the favour of the sultan Amurath. The loss of his father's principality was compensated by the command of a thousand horse, and he served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia. Whatever sense he might entertain of his father's wrongs, whatever might be his secret inclinations towards Christianity, it was not till the age of forty, that he openly avowed his religious sentiments, and broke the chain of his slavery. While he commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army, amidst the tumult of a defeat, occasioned by his own desertion, he extorted by his dagger from the Reis Effendi, or principal secretary, a patent for the government of Albania. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. No sooner had he possessed himself, by means of the royal mandate, of the fortress of Croya, than he disdained any farther dissimulation, and invited the Albanians, a martial race, to joint the standard of *religion and freedom*. The Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism; and on the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war. Under his conduct, the Albanians believed themselves, and became invincible. His standing militia consisted only of 8000 horse and 7000 foot; but on the first approach of an enemy, the blaze of the beacons summoned the warlike youth of the nation to their different posts. During twenty-three years, he baffled the powers of the Ottoman empire, though commanded by two of the greatest and most enterprising princes. Amurath entered Albania at the head of his valiant Janizaries; but, after a fruitless siege, he was compelled to retire from the walls of Croya, and the disappointment contributed perhaps to shorten his days. Before his death Scanderbeg seems to have been oppressed by the irresistible weight of the Turks; his resources were nearly exhausted; he was reduced to demand of Pius II. a refuge in the ecclesiastical dominions, and expired a fugitive at Lessus on the Venetian territory. His infant son was saved amidst

* Afterwards called Scanderberg.

the destruction of his country, and his blood still flows in the noblest families of Naples. A colony of the Albanese obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.

Amurath was succeeded by his son, Mahomet II. justly surnamed the Great, who no sooner ascended the throne of the Sultans, than he immediately formed the design of placing himself on that of Constantinople. He besieged and took the city, as has been already mentioned, and soon after reduced the cities in the Morea to subjection. Thus the Turkish empire, as it still subsists, was established on the ruins of the Roman empire, eleven hundred years and upwards after the building of Constantinople by Constantine. A. D. 1453.

Mahomet was succeeded by his second son, Bajazet II, preferred by the Janizaries to his elder brother Zizin, who fled to the protection of Pope Alexander VI. by whom he is said to have been poisoned, at the instigation of Bajazet, and for the reward of 300,000 ducats. Selim, his youngest son and successor, was a successful prince. He conquered Egypt, Aleppo, Antioch, Tripoli, Damascus, and Gaza, and defeated the Persians. Solyman II. surnamed the Magnificent, one of the most accomplished, enterprising, and warlike, of the Turkish princes, ascended the Ottoman throne in consequence of the death of Selim.

Having quelled some insurrections in Asia, he A. D. 1520. commenced hostilities against the European princes, and entering Hungary, made himself master of Belgrade, reckoned the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish power. He next turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, then the seat of the knights of Jerusalem. After incredible efforts of courage and military conduct the knights obtained an honourable capitulation, and retired to the small island of Malta, where they fixed their residence, and continue still to retain their ancient spirit, though much reduced in power and splendor*. He afterwards annexed Hungary to the Ottoman empire. His dominions extended from Algiers to the river Euphrates, and from the farther end of the Black Sea to the extremity of Greece and Epirus. During the siege of Sigeth, a city of Hungary, before which the Turks lost above thirty thousand men, Solyman expired in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

His son and successor, Selim II. besieged and took Cyprus; but in the sea-fight at Lepanto, the Turkish fleet was utterly destroyed by Don John of Austria. He afterwards

* Voltaire.

invested and took Tunis by storm, putting the garrison to the sword. On his death, his son, Amurath III. ascended the Ottoman throne, who extended his dominions on both sides by the addition of Raab, in Hungary, and Tibris, in Persia. His son, Mahomet III. has no claim to notice but his barbarity. He began his reign by strangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he suspected to be with-child, to be drowned. This monster of cruelty had a glorious and successful reign. During the government of his son Achmet I. every thing went to ruin. On his death, the Janizaries and the Divan chose his brother, Mustapha, whom in two months they declared incapable of reigning, and threw him into prison; after which they proclaimed his young nephew, Osman, the son of Achmet, emperor. This prince formed a design of curbing the power of the Janizaries, for which he was deposed and murdered; and Mustapha was again called from prison to the imperial throne, but was soon after strangled*.

Under Amurath, or Morab IV. surnamed Gasi, the Intrepid, every thing again assumed a new face. He was successful in his wars, and took Bagdat from the Persians. A debauch of wine put an end to his life, and dishonoured his memory. His son Ibrahim, who succeeded him, had every vice; he was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage. He was strangled by four mutes.

After a long interval of inaction, the Turks again became formidable to Europe under Mahomet IV. who succeeded him. His grand visier, Kupuli, who at once directed the councils, and conducted the armies of the Porte, took Candia from the Venetians. After carrying on many wars against the Germans, the Poles, the Russians, and other European powers, he was compelled to resign the turban to Solyman III. a prince happy in his domestic government, but unsuccessful in his wars. His brother, Achmet, II. was likewise unfortunate in his wars. In his reign the Turks were driven out of Hungary and Transylvania. The accession of his nephew, Mustapha II. to the Ottoman throne, gave a new turn to affairs. Possessed of more vigour than his predecessor, he resolved to command his troops in person. He accordingly took the field, passed the Danube, stormed Lippha, seized Itul, and falling suddenly on a body of Imperialists under Veterani, he killed that officer, dispersed his forces, and closed with success the campaign. He was afterwards defeated by prince Eugene in an uncommonly bloody battle at Zenta, a small village on the western

* Universal History.

bank of the Theyse, in the kingdom of Hungary. About twenty thousand Turks were left dead on the field, and ten thousand were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the sword. The magnificent pavilion of the sultan, and all the stores, fell into the hands of prince Eugene *. Soon after this misfortune the haughty Mustapha was dethroned.

His brother and successor, Achmet III. gave an asylum to Charles XII. king of Sweden, at Bender, a Turkish town in Moldavia, after his defeat at the battle of Pultowa. Being unsuccessful in his war against Kouli Khan and the Persians, he was deposed, and succeeded by Mahomet V. This prince was unfortunate in his battles both with the Russians and Kouli Khan, whom he was obliged to acknowledge Sophi of Persia. He died, as it is said, of a sudden fit of an asthma. The reign of his brother

Osman was too short to form any just cha- A. D. 1754.

acter of him, except his love for peace. On his death, Mustapha III. was invested with the imperial ensigns, in whose reign the empire suffered much in a contest with the Russians. In the course of this war a considerable Russian fleet was fitted out, which set sail from the Baltic, with a view of shaking the remote parts of the Archipelago. An obstinate engagement was fought with the Turks, in the channel of Scio, which divides that island from Natolia, or the Lesser Asia. The Turkish fleet was considerably superior in force, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, from sixty to ninety guns, besides a number of chebeques and galleys, amounting in the whole to near thirty sail; the Russians had only ten ships of the line, and five frigates. Some of the ships engaged with great resolution, whilst others on both sides found various causes from not approaching sufficiently near. But Spiritoff a Russian admiral, encountered the captain Pacha, in the Sultane of ninety guns, yard-arm and yard-arm; they both fought with the greatest fury, and at length run so close, that they locked themselves together with grappling-irons and other tackling. In this situation, the Russians, by throwing hand-granades from the tops, set the Turkish ship on fire, and as they could not now be disentangled, both ships were in a little time equally in flames. Thus dreadfully circumstanced, without a possibility of succour, they both at length blew up with a most terrible explosion. The commanders and principal officers on both sides were mostly saved; but the crew were almost totally lost. The dreadful fate of these

* Voltaire,

ships, as well as the danger to those that were near them, produced a kind of pause on both sides; after which the action was renewed, and continued till night without any material advantage on either side. When it became dark, the Turkish fleet cut their cables, and run into a bay on the coast of Natolia: the Russians surrounded them thus closely pent up, and in the night some fire ships were successively conveyed among the Turkish fleet, by the intrepid behaviour of lieutenant Dugdale, an Englishman in the Russian service, who, though abandoned by his crew, himself directed the operations of the fire ships. The fire took place so effectually, that in five hours the whole fleet, except one man of war, and a few gallies that were towed off by the Russians, was totally destroyed; after which they entered the harbour, and bombarded and cannonaded the town of Patras, and the castle that protected it, with such success, that a shot having blown up a powder magazine in the latter, both were reduced to a heap of rubbish. Thus was there scarcely a vestige left, at nine o'clock, of a town, a castle, and a fine fleet, which had been all in existence at one the same morning. After a most unfortunate war on the side of the Turks, peace was at length concluded between them and the Russians, a few months after

A. D. 1774. the accession of Achmet IV. Mustapha left a son, then only in his thirteenth year; but as he was too young to manage the reins of government, in the then critical situation of the Turkish affairs, Mustapha appointed his brother, the present emperor, to succeed him in the throne: and to this prince, under the strongest terms of recommendation, he confided the care of his infant son.

Achmet was succeeded by Selim III. the present reigning monarch.

A. D. 1789. Till the time of Solyman II, the Turkish arms had been always successful. After his death the course of their victories and conquests began to slacken. The Ottoman power is now much on the decline; and, as Germany and Russia are becoming daily more formidable, we may conjecture that the destruction of the empire is not far off*. The perseverance of the Turks, supplied by their numerous Asiatic armies, and the implicit submission to their officers, rather than any excellency in military discipline or courage in war, have been the great springs of those successes which have rendered their empire so formidable. The extension, as well as duration of their empire, may indeed be in some measure owing to the military insti-

* Playfair.

tution of the Janizaries, a corps originally composed of the children of such Christian parents as could not pay their taxes. These being collected together, were formed to the exercise of arms under the eyes of their officers in the seraglio. They were generally in number about 40,000, long deemed invincible; and they still continue the flower of the Turkish armies. The political state of Europe, and the jealousies that subsist among its princes, are now the surest basis of this empire, and the principal reason why the finest provinces in the world are suffered to remain in the possession of these ignorant and haughty infidels.

The *education* of the Turks seldom extends farther than reading the Turkish language and the Koran, and writing a common letter. Some of them understand astronomy so far as to calculate the time of an eclipse; but the number of these being very small, they are looked upon as extraordinary persons.

The manners of the Turks form an extraordinary contrast. They are fierce, and yet charitable; interested, yet hardly ever guilty of theft; and indolent, without being inclined to gaming, or intemperance. Very few avail themselves of the privilege of marrying many women; and there is no great city in Europe where there are fewer prostitutes than at Constantinople. Inviolably attached to their religion, the Turks hate and despise Christians, whom they look upon as idolaters; yet they tolerate and protect them throughout their empire, and in their capital. They are proud, yet they have no nobility; and they are brave, though they are strangers to duelling. The Asiatics never fight any duels, owing, perhaps, to their custom of never wearing arms but when they take the field *.

* Voltaire.

C H A P. III.

ARABIA, AND THE EMPIRE OF THE SARACENS.

Mahomet. — The Alcoran. — Substance of its Morality. — Successors of Mahomet. — Library at Alexandria burnt. — Copiousness of the Arabic Language.

IF we now turn our view to Asia, we shall there meet with one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened in the world; I mean that occasioned by the impostor Mahomet, who gave birth to an empire, which in eighty years extended itself over more kingdoms and countries than the Romans did in eight hundred. Mahomet was the younger son of an indigent family, and was a long time employed in the service of a woman called Cadiga, who exercised the profession of a merchant in Mecca; he married his mistress, and lived obscure to the age of forty. It was not till then that he displayed those talents, which spoke him so much superior to all his fellow citizens. He possessed a warm and nervous eloquence, destitute of art and method, such as was necessary to harangue the Arabs; an air of authority and insinuation, animated by piercing eyes, and supported by a happy physiognomy; the intrepidity and liberality of an Alexander, and that sobriety which Alexander wanted, to be completely great in every part of his character. Love, the necessary consequence of a warm constitution to which he owes so many wives and concubines, neither weakened his courage, his application, nor his health*.

Travelling had taught him the feebleness of neighbouring nations, and after having made himself entirely acquainted with the character of his countrymen scattered over the deserts, their ignorance, incredulity and aptitude to enthusiasm, he plainly perceived that he should be able to erect himself into a prophet. History affords not another instance of a mission so audacious. He feigned revelations; he uttered predictions; he gained credit with his own family, which was perhaps the most difficult part of his undertaking. He was often subject to fits of the epilepsy, a disease which those whom it afflicts are desirous to conceal. Mahomet gave out, therefore, that these fits were trances, into which he was miraculously thrown by God Almighty, during which he was instructed in his will, which he was commanded to publish to the world. By this strange story, and

* Universal History.

by leading a retired, abstemious, and austere life, he easily acquired a character for superior sanctity among his acquaintance and neighbours*.

Many of the inhabitants of the Eastern countries were at this time much addicted to the opinions of Arius, who denied that Jesus Christ was co-equal with God the Father, as is declared in the Athanasian Creed. Egypt and Arabia were filled with Jews, who had fled into these corners of the world from the persecution of the emperor Adrian, who threatened the total extinction of that people. The other inhabitants of those countries were pagans. These, however, had little attachment to their decayed and derided idolatry; and, like men whose religious principles is weak, had given themselves over to pleasure and sensuality, or to the acquisition of riches, to be the better able to indulge in the gratifications of sense, which together with the doctrine of predestination, composed the sole principles of their religion and philosophy. Mahomet's system was exactly suited to these three kinds of men. To gratify the two former, he declared that was there one God, who created the world and governed all things in it; that he had sent various prophets into the world to teach his will to mankind, among whom Moses and Jesus Christ were the most eminent; but the endeavours of these had proved ineffectual, and God had, therefore, now sent his last and greatest prophet with a commission more ample than what Moses or Christ had been entrusted with. He had commanded him not only to publish his laws, but to *subdue* those who were unwilling to believe and obey them; and for this end to establish a *kingdom upon earth*, which should propagate the divine law throughout the world; that God had designed utter *ruin and destruction* to those who had refused to submit to him; but to his faithful followers he had given the *spoils* and possessions of all the earth, as a reward in this life, and had provided for them hereafter a paradise of all sensual enjoyments, especially those of love; that the pleasures of such as died in propagating the faith would be peculiarly exquisite, and vastly transcend those of the rest. These, together with the prohibition of drinking strong liquors (a restraint not very severe in warm climates), and the doctrine of predestination, were the capital articles of Mahomet's Creed†.

They were no sooner published than a great number of his countrymen embraced them with implicit faith. They were written by a Sergian monk, who assisted Mahomet in

* Life of Mahomet.

† Universal History. Mosheim. White's Sermons.

his design, and compose a book called the *Koran*, or *Alcoran*, by way of eminence, as we say the Bible, which means the book. This work abounds with incoherent rhapsodies; but all its interpreters agree, that the morality it inculcates is contained in these words: "Court those who drive you out; give to those who strip you; forgive those who injure you; do good to all; and never dispute with the ignorant*."

As the person of Mahomet was familiar to the inhabitants of Mecca, the greater part of them were sufficiently convinced of the deceit. The more enlightened and leading men, therefore, entered into a design to cut him off; but Mahomet getting notice of their intention, fled to Medina. His flight from that city, which is denominated Hegira, became the æra of his glory, as well as the foundation of his empire. From a fugitive he started up a conqueror. He armed his disciples, besieged and took Mecca; and saw his persecutors humbled at his feet. After subduing all Arabia, and part of the Eastern empire, he died a natural death, leaving A. D. 632. two branches of his race, both esteemed divine among their subjects. These were the caliphs of Persia and of Egypt, under the last of which Arabia was included. Resolving to behave, in his last moments, like a hero and a man of integrity, he cried out, "Let him to whom I have done violence and injustice appear, I am now ready to make him reparation." On this, a man stood up, and desiring the restitution of some money, he ordered it to be given him, and expired a short time after, with the character of a great man even in the opinion of those who knew him to be an impostor, and revered as a prophet by all the rest †.

Some have imagined, from an equivocal passage in the *Koran*, that Mahomet could neither read nor write, which would still add to the prodigies of his success. But it is not probable that a man who had been long a merchant, should be ignorant of what is so necessary to trade; much less, is it probable, that a man who was so well versed in the histories and fables of his native country, should be ignorant of what was known to all the children in Arabia. Besides, the Arabian authors observe, that Mahomet, when dying, called for pen and ink. His last will, however, was not executed. He had nominated Ali his son-in-law, and Fatima his daughter, to succeed him in the government of his empire. But *ambition* which triumphs over *sanaticism* itself, induced the chiefs of his army to chuse for caliph, or vicar of the prophet, old Abubeker, his father-in-law, from the hope that they should soon divide the succession amongst themselves.

* Voltaire.

† Ibid.

He was succeeded by Omar, who with astonishing rapidity over-ran Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, and the whole Persian empire. Omar abolished the ancient religion of Zoroaster, and established through his empire the faith of Mahomet. His general Amrou Ebnel Aas also subdued Egypt, Lybia, and Numidia. It was in the course of this war that the library at Alexandria, in which the careful Ptolemies had assembled more than four hundred thousand manuscripts, drew the victor's attention, who wrote to the caliph for orders. "Burn them," replied the ferocious Omar; "if they contain only what is in the Alcoran, they are useless, and dangerous if any thing more *." — Barbarous sentence, which reduced to ashes the greatest part of the learned labours of antiquity! Of what knowledge, what arts, what immortal works did not this fatal conflagration deprive the world! Otman succeeded Omar, and extended the empire of the caliphs. Ali, the successor of Otman, transferred the seat of the caliphs, from Mecca to Couffa. There were nineteen caliphs of the race of Omar, or Ommiades, after whom the throne was filled by the race of the Abassidæ, in the person of Abdalla. Aboujafar Almanzor, the second caliph of this race, fixed the seat of that great empire at Bagdat in Chaldea, on the other side of the river Euphrates. The Saracens † now began to be remarkable for their knowledge in the sciences, and taste for literature. In the beginning of the eighth century they extended their conquest, and diffused the religion of Mahomet from Samarkand in Tartary to Spain in the west of Europe, where they founded the kingdom of Cordoua. At length the Saracen generals raised themselves into independent sovereigns, under the name of sultans, and shook off the yoke of the caliphs. Thus the sultan of Egypt, the emperor of Morocco, the Moorish kings of Spain, respected the caliphs as the head of their religion, but acknowledged no subjection to him as a temporal prince; so that the successors of Mahomet found themselves, towards the middle of the eleventh century, in much the same situation with those of St. Peter, under the first German emperors; or with the kings of Europe about the same time, whose power declined in proportion to the increase of their vassals.

Though the Arabians in former ages were famous for their learning and skill in all the liberal arts, there is scarcely a country at present where the people are so universally ignorant. The vulgar language is the *Arabsk*, or corrupt Ara-

* Universal History.

† Saracen is derived from Saraz to steal, because this people were accustomed to traverse the country to rob on the highway.

bian. The pure old grammatical Arabic, which is a dialect of the Hebrew, and by the people of the East accounted the richest, most energetic, and copious language in the world, is taught in their schools, as Greek and Latin are among the Europeans, and used by Mahometans in their worship. As the Koran was written in this language, they will not suffer it to be read in any other. They look upon it to have been the language of Paradise, and think no man can be master of it without a miracle, as consisting of several millions of words. The books which treat of it say, they have no fewer than a thousand terms to express the word *Camel*, and five hundred for that of lion. In the temple of Mecca are seven Arabian poems, a fine specimen of oriental poetry*.

CHAP. IV.

CHINA.

Origin of the Chinese Empire.---Confucius.---Great Wall.---Eighty thousand Tartar Families emigrate, and offer themselves as Subjects to the present Emperor.---Language and Literature.---Population and Religion.

THE Chinese pretend to an antiquity beyond all measure of credibility; and their annals have been carried beyond the period to which the scripture chronology assigns, the creation of the world. Poan-Kou is said by them to have been the first man; and the interval of time between his birth and the death of the celebrated Confucius, hath been reckoned about ninety-six millions of years. But upon an accurate investigation of this subject it appears, that the Chinese historical relations of events, prior to the reign of the emperor Yao, who lived 2057 years before Christ, are entirely fabulous, composed in modern times, unsupported by authentic records, and full of contradictions. It appears also, that the origin of the Chinese empire cannot be placed higher than two or three generations before Yao†. But even this is carrying the empire of China to a very high antiquity, and it is certain that the materials for Chinese history are extremely ample. The grand annals of the empire of China are comprehended in 668 volumes,

* Sir William Jones.

† Du Halde.

and consist of the pieces that have been composed by the tribunal or department of history, established in China for transmitting to posterity the public events of the empire, and the lives, characters, and transactions of its sovereigns. It is said, that all the facts, which concern the monarchy since its foundation, have been deposited in this department, and from age to age have been arranged according to the order of time, under the inspection of government, and with all the precautions against illusion or partiality that could be suggested. These precautions have been carried so far, that the history of the reign of each imperial family has only been published after the extinction of that family, and was kept a profound secret during the dynasty, that neither fear nor flattery might adulterate the truth. It is asserted, that many of the Chinese historians exposed themselves to exile, and even to death, rather than disguise the defects and vices of the sovereign. But the emperor Chi-hoangti, at whose command the great wall was built, ordered all the historical books and records, which contained the fundamental laws A. C. 213. and principles of the ancient government, with the medals, inscriptions, and monuments of antiquity to be burnt, that they might not be employed by the learned to oppose his authority, and resist the changes he proposed to introduce into the monarchy; and that there might remain no earlier record, date, or authority, relative to religion, science, or politics, than those of his own reign, and he be considered as the founder of the empire. Four hundred literati were burnt with their books. This barbarous edict, however, had not its full effect; for several books were concealed, and escaped the general ruin *. After this period, strict search was made for the ancient books and records that yet remained; but though much industry was employed for this purpose, it appears that the authentic historical sources of the Chinese, for the times anterior to two centuries before the Christian æra, are very few, and that they are still in smaller numbers for more remote periods. But notwithstanding the depredations that have been made upon the Chinese history, it is still immensely voluminous, and has been judged by some writers superior to that of all other nations. Of the grand annals before-mentioned, which amount to 668 volumes, a copy is preserved in the library, which lately belonged to the French king. A chronological abridgment of this great work, in one hundred volumes, was published in the forty-second year of the reign of Kang-hi; that is, in the year 1703. From these materials the Abbé Grosier proposed to publish at Paris,

* Universal History.

in the French language, a General History of China, in twelve volumes quarto; some of which have been printed.

It seems as if the original form of the Chinese government was monarchical; and a succession of excellent princes, and a duration of domestic tranquillity united legislation with philosophy, and produced their Fo-hi, whose history is wrapped up in mysteries, their Li-Laocum, and above all their Confucius, at once the Solon and the Socrates of China. Their long struggle with the Tartars, which lasted several centuries, and the violence of domestic factions, produced bloody wars, and many revolutions; so that though the Chinese empire is hereditary, the imperial succession has been often interrupted. Upwards of twenty dynasties, or different lines and families of succession, are enumerated in their annals. Neither the great Jenghiz Khan, nor Tamerlane, though they often defeated the Chinese, could subdue their empire; and neither of them could keep the conquests they made there. After their invasions were over, the Chinese, went to war with the Manchew Tartars, while an indolent worthless emperor, Tfontching was upon the throne. In the mean time, a bold rebel, named Li-cong-tse, in the province of Le-tchuen, dethroned the emperor, who hanged himself, as did most of his courtiers and women. Ou-san-quey, the Chinese general, on the frontiers of Tartary, refused to recognise the usurper, and made a peace with T'ongate, or Chun-tchi, the Manchew prince, who drove the usurper from the throne, and A. D. 1644. took possession of it himself. The Tartar maintained himself in his authority, and, wisely incorporated his hereditary subjects with the Chinese, so that in effect Tartary became an acquisition to China. He was succeeded by a prince of great natural and acquired abilities, who was the patron of the Jesuits, but knew how to check them when he found them intermeddling with the affairs of his government.

All the Tartars which composed the nation of A. D. 1771. the Tourgouths, left the settlements which they had under the Russian government on the banks of the Wolga and the Jaick, at a small distance from the Caspian sea, and in a vast body of fifty thousand families, passed through the country of the Hacks. After a march of eight months, in which they surmounted innumerable difficulties and dangers, they arrived in the plains that lie on the frontier of Carapen, not far from the banks of the river Ily, and offered themselves as subjects to Kien-long, emperor of China, who was then in the thirty-sixth year of his reign. He received them graciously, furnished them with provisions, cloaths and money, and allotted to each family a portion of land for agriculture.

agriculture and pasturage. The year following there was a second emigration of about thirty thousand other Tartar families, who also quitted the settlements which they enjoyed under the Russian government, and submitted to the Chinese sceptre. The emperor caused the history of these emigrations to be engraven upon stone, in four different languages.

The Chinese *oral language* contains only 330 words, all of one syllable; but then each word is pronounced with such various modulations, and each with a different meaning, that it becomes more copious than could easily be imagined, and enables them to express themselves very well on the common occasions of life. Their *literature* is composed in arbitrary characters, which are amazingly complicated and numerous. According to some writers they amount to twenty-five thousand; to thirty or forty thousand according to others; but the latest accounts say they amount to eighty thousand, though he is reckoned a very learned man, who is master of fifteen or twenty thousand*. The Chinese characters, which are by length of time become symbolic, were originally imitative. They still partake so much of their original hieroglyphic nature, that they do not combine into words like letters, or marks for sounds; but we find one mark for a man, another for a horse, a third for a dog, and in short a separate and distinct mark for each thing which has a corporeal form. Their books began from the right hand, and the letters are placed in perpendicular columns, of which there are generally ten in a page. They are read downwards, beginning from the right-hand side of the paper†. The Chinese were ignorant of mathematical learning, and all its depending arts, till the Europeans came among them. They had no proper apparatus for astronomical observations; and the metaphysical learning, which existed among them, was only known to their philosophers; but even the arts introduced by the Jesuits were of short duration, and lasted very little longer than the reign of Canghi, who was cotemporary with our Charles II. Perhaps they may be revived by the ingenious gentlemen in the suite of Lord Macartney, who lately set out for that country with views of a liberal and advantageous tendency. It has been generally reported that they understood printing before the Europeans; but that can be only applied to block-printing, for the fusile and moveable types were undoubtedly Dutch or German inventions. The Chinese, however, had almanacks which they stamped upon plates or blocks, many hundred years before printing was discovered in Europe.

* Abbé Grosier.

† Mr. Asle.

The difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of such a number of arbitrary marks and characters, as there are in what may be called the Chinese written language, greatly retards the progress of their erudition. But there is no part of the globe where learning is attended with such honours and rewards, and where there are more powerful inducements to cultivate and pursue it. The literati are revered as men of another species, and are the only nobility known in China. If their birth be ever so mean and low, they become mandarins of the highest rank, in proportion to their extent in learning. On the other hand, however exalted their birth may be, they quickly sink into poverty and obscurity, if they neglect those studies which raised their fathers. It has been observed, that there is no nation in the world where the first honours of the state lie so open to the lowest of the people, and where there is less of hereditary greatness. The literati of China, in all the periods of their monarchy, have applied themselves less to the study of nature, and to the researches of natural philosophy, than to moral inquiries, the practical science of life, and internal polity of manners. The invention of gunpowder is claimed by the Chinese, who made use of it against Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane.

China is about two thousand miles in length, and sixteen hundred in breadth, and is said to contain four thousand four hundred walled cities; the chief of which are Peking, the residence of the royal family, Nankin, and Canton. The walls and gates of Peking are of the surprising height of fifty cubits, so that they hide the whole city; and they are so broad that centinels are placed upon them on horseback; for there are slopes within the city of considerable length, by which horsemen may ascend the walls. The palace is more than three miles in circumference, and the front of the building shines with gilding, paint, and varnish, while the inside is set off and furnished with every thing that is most beautiful and precious in China, the Indies, and Europe*.

About eight hundred years ago, they built their great wall, to separate and defend their state against the neighbouring Tartars, which subsists to this day, on a circumference of fifteen hundred miles, rising over the tops of mountains, and descending into low vallies, being almost every where twenty feet broad and thirty feet high; a monument superior to the pyramids, both for its utility, and immensity. The tea-plant flourishes in this country; and, all teas are the leaf of one and the same shrub. The supposition that green is from one kind of tree, and bohea from another, is a vulgar error;

* M. Attiret.

for they differ only as malt may do in being higher or flacker dried, or being finer or coarser.

China, says one who has been at great pains to obtain information, contains two hundred millions of inhabitants*. This enormous population the Abbé Grosier endeavours to prove by a detail of the numbers in each of the fifteen provinces, to be by no means exaggerated. Many intelligent people greatly question the credibility of this large account. On all hands, however, it is admitted that their numbers are very great. The city of Peking is computed to contain two millions of inhabitants, though Nankin is said to exceed it both in extent and population. But Canton is the greatest port in China, and the only one much frequented by Europeans. The city wall is about five miles in circumference, with very pleasant walks around it. From the top of some adjacent hills, on which forts are built, one has a fine prospect of the country. It is beautifully interspersed with mountains, little hills and vallies, all green; and these again pleasantly diversified with small towns, villages, high towers, temples, the seats of mandarins and other great men, which are watered with delightful lakes, canals, and small branches from the river Ta; on which are numberless boats and punks, sailing different ways through the most fertile parts of the country.

Though the ancient Chinese worshipped idols, yet their philosophers and legislators had juster notions of the Deity, and indulged the people in the worship of sensible objects, only to make them more submissive to government. The Jesuits made little opposition to this, when they attempted to convert the Chinese; and suffered their proselytes to worship Tren, pretending that it was no other than the name of God. The truth is, Confucius, and the Chinese legislators, introduced a most excellent system of morals among the people, and endeavoured to supply the want of just ideas of a future state, by prescribing to them the worship of inferior deities. Their morality approximates to that of Christianity; but as we know little of their religion, only through the Jesuits, we cannot adopt for truth the numerous instances which they tell us of the conformity of the Chinese with the Christian religion. Those fathers, it must be owned, were men of great abilities, and made a wonderful progress above a century ago in their conversions; but they mistook the true character of the emperor, who was their patron; for he no sooner found that they were in fact aspiring to the civil direction of the government, then he ex-

* Father Amiot.

pelled them, levelled their churches with the ground, and prohibited the exercise of their religion, since which time Christianity has made no figure in China.

CHAP. V.

TARTARY.

Extent of the Country. — Siberia. — Beauty of the Circassian Women. — Jenghiz-Khan and Tamerlane. — Itinerant Life of the Tartars. — Forces of the Great Khan. — Method of making War.

TARTARY, in length about two thousand miles, and breadth sixteen hundred, takes up all the northern regions of Asia. That part which borders on Muscovy, is often called Muscovy in Asia, where lies Siberia, a vast country, more inhabited than any in Tartary, and subject to the Russians. Its chief towns are Tobolski, and Astracan, a place of great trade. Here also are the Calmucs, Usbees, and Circassians. The Circassian women are extremely well shaped, with exceeding fine features, smooth clear complexion, and beautiful black eyes, which with their black hair hanging in two tresses, one on each side the face, give them a most amiable appearance. In this barbarous country, however, parents make no scruple of selling their daughters to recruit the seraglios, or rather harems, of the great men of Turkey and Persia. They are purchased, when young, by merchants, and taught such accomplishments as suit their capacities, to render them more valuable against the day of sale*.

The Tartars are in general great wanderers; in their peregrinations they set out in the spring, their number in one body being frequently 10,000, preceded by their flocks and herds. When they come to an inviting spot, they live upon it till all its grass and verdure is eaten up. They have little money, except what they get from their neighbours the Russians, Persians, or Turks, in exchange for cattle; with this they purchase cloth, silks, stuffs, and other apparel for their women. They have few mechanics, except those who make arms. They avoid all labour as the greatest slavery; their

* Mr. Bruce.

only employment is tending their flocks, hunting, and managing their horses. If they are angry with a person, they wish he may live in one fixed place, and work like a Russian. Though it is certain that Tartary, formerly known by the name of Scythia, peopled the northern parts of Europe, and furnished those amazing numbers who, under various names, destroyed the Roman empire, yet it is now but very thinly inhabited; and those fine provinces, where learning and the arts resided, are now scenes of horror and barbarity. This must have been owing to the dreadful massacres made among the nations by the two above-mentioned conquerors and their descendants; for nothing is more common in their histories than their putting to the sword three or four hundred thousand people in a few days. The country of Usbec Tartary was once the seat of a more powerful empire than that of Rome or Greece. It was not only the native country, but the favourite residence of Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane, who enriched it with the spoils of India and the eastern world. The former, A. D. 1200. made himself master of those regions, which form at this day the Asiatic part of the Russian empire; and his son Batou Sagin conquered southern Russia, and peopled it with Tartar colonies, which are confounded or blended with the Russians.

Jenghiz-Khan was one of the greatest conquerors that the world ever produced. In fortune, power, magnificence, and extent of dominions, he was far superior to Alexander, and to all the monarchs, either of the eastern or western empires. Tamerlane's memory, however, hath been more permanent. His descent is claimed not only by all the Khans, and petty princes of Tartary, but by the emperor of Indostan himself*.

After defeating Bajazet the Turkish Sultan, this victorious Tartar, like all conquerors, who never suffer their weaker neighbours to be at rest, invaded Syria, from whence he returned to Samarcand, which he looked upon as the capital of his vast dominions. He had conquered almost as great an extent of territory as Jenghiz Khan, for if the latter had part of China and Corea, the former was possessed of Syria, and the half of Asia Minor, which Jenghiz Khan was never able to subdue. He was likewise master of almost all Indostan, whereas Jenghiz Khan had only the northern provinces. Scarce was he settled in the possession of this immense empire, when he began to meditate the conquest of China, at too advanced a period of life. In imitation of Jenghiz Khan, he received the homage of several princes of Asia, and the

* Universal History.

embassies of many sovereigns. He gave in marriage, on the same day, all his grand-sons and grand-daughters, when the different orders of the state, and the several artificers passed in review, each with the ensigns of his profession. After having reigned thirty-six years, he died a natural A. D. 1406. death, more fortunate by the length of his days, and the success of his grand-children, than Alexander, to whom the eastern nations compare him *.

The present inhabitants of this immense common compose innumerable tribes, who range at pleasure with their flocks and herds in the old patriarchal manner. Their tribes are commanded by separate *Khans* or *Leaders*, who, upon particular emergencies, elect a great Khan, invested with a paramount power over strangers as well as natives, and whose forces often amount to an *hundred thousand* horsemen. His chief residence is a kind of military station, which is moved and shifted according to the chance of war and other occasions. The method of carrying on war, by wasting the country, is very ancient among the Tartars, and practised by all of them from the Danube eastward. This circumstance renders them a dreadful enemy to regular troops, who must thereby be deprived of subsistence, while the Tartars, having always many spare horses to kill and eat, are at no loss for provisions.

Under Jenghiz-Khan and Tamerlane, and their early descendants, Astracan and the neighbouring countries were the seats of learning and politeness, as well as empire and magnificence. Modern luxury, be it ever so splendid, falls short of that of those princes; and some remains of taste and architecture are still extant, but in spots so desolate that they are almost inaccessible. The encouragement of learning was the first care of the prince, and it was generally cultivated by his own relations or principal grandees.

* Voltaire.

C H A P. VI.

INDIA OR INDOSTAN, COMPREHENDING THE MOGUL'S
EMPIRE, WITH THE BRITISH AND OTHER
POSSESSIONS.

Religion, Manners, and Literature of the Indians.—Conquest by Tamerlane.—Aurengzebe—Kouli Khan—Mahrattas—Hyder Ally—Tippo Saib—Sir Eyre Coote and Lord Cornwallis—Madras, Bengal, and Bombay—East-India Company—Diamond Mines.

THE original inhabitants of India, are called Gentoos; or, as others call them, Hindoos, and the country Hindoostan. They pretend that Brumma, who was their legislator, both in politics and religion, was inferior only to God, and that he existed many thousand years before our account of the creation. This Brumma, probably, was some great and good genius, whose beneficence, like that of the Pagan legislators, led his people and their posterity to pay him divine honours. The foundation of Brumma's doctrine, consisted in the belief of a supreme Being, who created a regular gradation of Beings, some superior, and some inferior to man; in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, which is to consist of a transmigration into different bodies, according to the lives they have led in their pre-existent state. From this it appears more than probable, that the Pythagorean metempsychosis took its rise in India. The necessity of inculcating this sublime, but otherwise complicated doctrine into the lower ranks, induced the Bramins, or priests, who are by no means unanimous in their doctrines, to have recourse to sensible representations of the deity and his attributes; so that the original doctrines of Brumma have degenerated into idolatry, in the worship of different animals, and various images.

Every Indian adheres invariably to the profession of his forefathers. From generation to generation, the same families have followed, and will always continue to follow one uniform line of life. To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection conspicuous in many of the Indian manufactures; and though veneration for the practices of their ancestors may check the spirit of invention, yet, by adhering to these, they acquire such an expertness and delicacy of hand, that Europeans, with all the advantages of superior science, and the aid of more complete instruments, have never been able to equal the exquisite execution of their workmanship.

The

of The institutions of India, are permanent, and the manners its inhabitants are immutable. What now is in India always was there, and is still likely to continue. Neither the ferocious violence and illiberal fanaticism of its Mahometan conquerors, nor the power of its European masters, have effected any considerable alteration. The same distinctions of condition take place, the same arrangements in civil and domestic society remain, the same maxims of religion are held in veneration, and the same sciences and arts are cultivated. Hence, in all ages, the trade with India has been the same. Gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither, in order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has always been considered and execrated as a gulf, which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns*.

The manners of the Hindoos are gentle. Their happiness consists in the solaces of domestic life; and they are taught by their religion, that matrimony is an indispensable duty in every man, who does not entirely separate himself from the world from a principle of devotion. Their religion also permits them to have several wives; but they seldom have more than one: and it has been observed, that their wives are distinguished by a decency of demeanor, a solicitude in their families, and a fidelity to their vows, which might do honour to human nature in the most civilized countries. The custom of women burning themselves, upon the death of their husbands, is still practised among some of high condition, though much less frequently than in former times; and it is said, that the Bramins now do not encourage it.

The inhabitants of this country are remarkably honest and humane. There is scarcely an instance of a robbery in all Indostan, though the diamond merchants travel without a defensive weapon. The temples or pagodas of the Gentoos are stupendous but clumsy stone buildings. Here the "Bramins live in a subordination which knows no resistance, and "slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no wants†". If these priests are masters of any uncommon art or science, they generally turn it to the purposes of profit from their ignorant votaries. They know how to calculate eclipses; and judicial astrology is so prevalent, that half the year is taken up with unlucky days. The perpetual use of rice, their chief food, gives them but little nourishment; and their marrying early, the male before fourteen, and their women at ten or eleven years of age, keeps them low and feeble in their per-

* Dr. Robertson.

† Orme's History of Indostan.

sons. A man is in the decline of life at thirty, and the beauty of the women begins to decay at eighteen. At twenty-five they have all the marks of old age. We are therefore not to wonder at their being soon strangers to all personal exertion and vigour of mind.

It is certain, that death is regarded with less horror in India than in any other country in the world. The origin and the end of all things, say the philosophers of India of the present times, is a *vacuum*. A state of repose is the state of greatest perfection; and this is the state after which a wise man aspires. It is better, say the Hindoos, to sit than to walk, and to sleep than to wake; but death is the best of all.

Of all the Indian tribes, the Mahrattas at present makes the greatest figure. They are a kind of mercenaries, who live on the mountains between Indostan and Persia. They commonly serve on horseback, and, when well commanded, they have been known to give law even to the court of Delhi.

All the *science* and *literature* possessed by the Bramins, were formerly contained in books written in a language understood by a few only of the most learned among them. It is a fact which has long been known, and all the Europeans settled in India, during three centuries, have complained that the Bramins obstinately refused to instruct any person in this language. But at length by address, mild treatment, and a persuasion that the earnestness with which instruction was solicited, proceeded not from an intention of turning their religion into derision, but from a desire of acquiring a perfect knowledge of their sciences and literature, their scruples have been overcome. Several British gentlemen are now complete masters of the Shanskrete language. The mysterious veil, formerly deemed impenetrable, is removed, and the curiosity of the public has been gratified by two publications as singular as they were unexpected. The one is a translation, by Mr. Wilkins, of an Episode from *Mahabarat*, an epic poem, in high estimation among the Hindoos, composed by one of their Bramins, above three thousand years before the Christian æra. The other is *Sacountala*, a dramatic poem, written about a century before the birth of Christ, translated by Sir William Jones. Besides these, there are other pieces, translated from the Shanskrete language, the most curious of which are some *original Grants of Land*, of very ancient dates. It may seem odd, that a charter of legal conveyance of property should be ranked among the literary compositions of any people. But so widely do the manners of the Hindoos differ from those of Europe, that as our lawyers multiply words and clauses, in order to render a grant complete, and to guard against every thing that may invalidate it, the Pundits

mits seem to dispatch the legal part of the deed with brevity; but, in a long preamble and conclusion, make an extraordinary display of their own learning, eloquence, and powers of composition, both in prose and in verse. The preamble to one of these deeds is an encomium of the monarch who grants the land, in a bold strain of eastern exaggeration: "When
 "his innumerable army marched, the heavens were so filled
 "with the dust of their feet, that the birds of the air could rest
 "upon it. His elephants moved like walking mountains,
 "and the earth, oppressed by their weight, mouldered into
 "dust."

The famous Alexander of Macedon was the first who invaded this extensive and fruitful country; and Jenghiz Khan, the Tartarian prince of celebrated memory, made himself master of it, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Several revolutions happened before the conquest by Tamerlane*, who crossed the Indus nearly at the same
 A. D. 1398. place, where Alexander had passed long before.

This invincible barbarian met with no resistance sufficient to justify, even by the military maxims of Tartars, the cruelties with which he marked his way. But, after an immense slaughter of human creatures, he at length rendered himself lord of an empire which extended from Smyrna to the banks of the Ganges. The history of the successors of Tamerlane, who reigned over Indostan with little interruption more than 350 years, has been variously represented; but all agree that they were magnificent and despotic princes, and that they committed their provinces to rapacious governors, or to their own sons, by which their empire was often miserably torn in pieces. It is worthy of observation, that the provinces of Indostan have seldom continued under one head during a period of twenty years, from the earliest history down to the reign of Acbar in the sixteenth century. Bengal, Guzerat, and other provinces, were in turn independent, and sometimes the empire of Indostan was confined within the proper limits of the province itself. So that the history of it furnishes an excellent lesson to princes not to grasp at too extensive dominion. Some parts of the empire were 1000 miles distant from the seat of government. The English conquests in India met those of Tamerlane in a point equidistant from the mouths of the Ganges and Indus, in the year 1774, for they closed their campaign that year at Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta.

* The emperor of Indostan is called the Great Mogul, because he is the descendant of Tamerlane, the Mongul, or Mogul Tartar.

At length, the famous Aurengzebe, in the year 1667, though the youngest among many sons of the reigning emperor, after defeating or murdering all his brethren, mounted the throne of Indostan, and may be considered as the real founder and legislator of the empire. He was a politic but very despotic prince, and the first who extended his dominion over the Peninsula within the Ganges, which is at present so well known to the English. He lived so late as the year 1707, and it is said, that some of his great officers of state were alive in the year 1750. Aurengzebe seems to have left too much power to the governors of his distant provinces, and to have been too inattentive to prevent the effects of that dreadful despotism, which, while in his hands, preserved the tranquillity of his empire; but when it descended to his weak and indolent successors, occasioned its overthrow.

Never was there a stronger instance than this man, that happiness, in this life, is not the reward of virtue. Though stained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of the murder of his father, he succeeded in all his undertakings, and died at the advanced age of 103. Never had prince so long and fortunate a career. He increased the empire of the Moguls with Golconda, Visapour, the Carnatic, and almost the whole peninsula terminated by the coast of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have died by the hand of the executioner, could he have been tried by the customary laws of nations, was, beyond all dispute, the most potent prince of the universe. The magnificence of the kings of Persia, as dazzling as it has appeared to our eyes, was but a trifle, when compared to the riches of Aurengzebe.

The Asiatic princes have at all times been remarkable for treasures. These indeed consist of their own hoards, but the European princes are rich with the money that circulates among their subjects. Tamerlane's treasure was still preserved, and his successors had added to the heap. The increase under Aurengzebe was immense. One of his thrones only was estimated at a hundred and sixty millions of livres. Twelve columns of massy gold which supported the canopy of the throne, were covered with large pearls, the canopy was also of pearls and diamonds, mounted by a peacock spreading a tail of precious stones. Every thing else was proportioned to this astonishing magnificence. The greatest solemnity in the year was when the emperor used to be weighed in golden scales, before all the people; on which occasion he received above fifty millions of livres in presents.

If there be any such thing as influence of climate, it is surely in India. The Mogul emperors introduced the same luxury, and lived in the same effeminacy and ease, as the Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; the Tartar conquerors

querors insensibly fell into the same manners and became Indians. This excessive opulence and luxury did but contribute to the miseries of India. The same thing happened in 1739 to the grandson of Aurengzebe, Mahamad Shah, as to Croesus. This king of Lydia had been told, "You have a great quantity of gold, but he that can make a better use of iron than you will strip you of it all." Thomas Kouli Khan, having raised himself to the throne of Persia, marched to the capital of India, in order to strip the Mogul of all those treasures, of which the latter had robbed the Indians. There is hardly an instance in history of a more numerous army than that which the Great Mogul Mahamad raised against Thomas Kouli Khan, nor of weaker conduct. He had more than a *million* of men, 10,000 pieces of cannon, and 2000 elephants armed for war, to oppose the conqueror of Persia, whose forces were only 60,000. Darius did not march so large armies against Alexander. Mahamad, however, humbled himself in the presence of Kouli Khan, who spoke to him in the tone of a sovereign, and treated him like a subject. The conqueror made his entrance into Delhi, dragged this rich and miserable emperor in his train, and, after confining him to a tower caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India. He plundered Delhi, and pillaged the empire of treasure to the amount of more than seventy millions sterling; and though he afterwards restored the unhappy prince to liberty and to power, he annexed to Persia all the countries westward of the Indus. This dreadful incursion so weakened the authority of the emperor, that the viceroys of the different provinces either threw off their allegiance, or acknowledged a very precarious dependence; and, engaging in wars with each other, called in as allies the East India companies of England and France, who had been originally permitted as traders to form establishments upon the coasts. These, from the great superiority of European discipline, from allies became in a short time principals in an obstinate contest, which at length terminated in the expulsion of the French from Indostan; and thus a company of British merchants have acquired, partly by cession from the country powers, and partly by injustice and usurpation, territories equal in extent, and superior in wealth and population to most of the kingdoms of Europe.

The Mahrattas originally possessed several provinces of Indostan, from whence they were driven by the arms of the Mogul conquerors. They were never wholly subjected, but retiring to the northern part of the Gaits, made frequent incursions from these inaccessible mountains. Taking advantage of the anarchy of the empire, they have extended their frontiers

tions, and are at present possessed of a tract of country 1000 British miles long, by 700 wide. In order to throw greater light upon this subject, it will be proper to give some account of the British transactions in this part of the world, since the time that they were quietly settled in the possession of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá; A. D. 1765. not indeed as absolute sovereigns, but as tributaries to the emperor. This state of tranquillity, however, did not long continue; for in 1767, they found themselves engaged in a very dangerous war with Hyder Ally, the sovereign of Mysore. This man had originally been a military adventurer, who learned the rudiments of the art of war in the French camp; and, in the year 1753, had distinguished himself in their service. Having been advanced to the command of the army of Mysore, in 1763, he deposed his sovereign, and usurped the supreme authority under the title of regent. In a short time he extended his dominions on all sides, except the Carnatic, until at last his dominions equalled the island of Great Britain in extent, with a revenue of not less than four millions sterling annually. The discords which took place in various parts of Indostan, particularly among the Mahrattas, enabled him to aggrandise himself in such a manner, that his power soon became formidable to his neighbours; and he soon found himself in danger of being attacked on one side by the Mahrattas, and on the other by the British. The former were bought off with a sum of money, and the latter were in consequence obliged to retire. Having soon, however, assembled all their forces, several obstinate engagements took place, and the British now, for the first time, found a steady opposition from the Indian prince. The war continued with various success during the years 1767, 1768, and part of 1769, when Hyder, with a strong detachment of his army, passing by that of the British, advanced within a little distance of Madras, where he intimidated the government into a peace upon his own terms. The advantages gained by this peace, however, were quickly lost by an unfortunate war with the Mahrattas, from whom, he received a most dreadful defeat, almost his A. D. 1771. whole army being killed or taken. Hyder was now reduced to the necessity of allowing his enemies to desolate the country, till they retired of their own accord; after which he retrieved his affairs with incredible perseverance and diligence, so that in a few years he became more formidable than ever. In 1772, the Mahrattas made some attempts to get possession of the provinces of Corah and some others, but were opposed by the British; who, next year, defeated and drove them across the river Ganges, where they had invaded

vaded the country of the Rohillas. On this occasion the latter had acted only as the allies of Sujah Dowlaw, to whom the Rohilla chiefs had promised to pay forty lacks of rupees for the protection afforded them; but when the money came to be paid, it was under various pretences refused; the consequence of which was, that the Rohilla country was next year invaded and conquered by the British, as A. D. 1774. well as several other large tracks of territory; by which means the boundary Oude was advanced to the westward, within twenty-five miles of Agra; north westward to the upper part of the navigable course of the Ganges; and south westward to the Junna river.

In 1778, a new war commenced with the Mahrattas; on which occasion a brigade, consisting of 7000 Indian troops, commanded by British officers, traversed the whole empire of the Mahrattas, from the river Junna to the western ocean. About this time the war with France broke out, and Hyder Ally, probably expecting assistance from the French, made a dreadful irruption into the Carnatic, at the head of 100,000 men. For some time he carried every thing before him, and, having the good fortune to defeat, or rather destroy a detachment of the British army under colonel Baillie, it was generally imagined, that the power of Britain in that part of the world would have soon been annihilated. By the happy exertions of sir Eyre Coote, however, to whom the management of affairs was now committed, the progress of this formidable adversary was stopped, and he soon became weary of a war, which was attended with incredible expence to himself without any reasonable prospect of success. By the year 1782, therefore, Hyder Ally was sincerely desirous of peace, but died before it could be brought to a conclusion; and his rival, sir Eyre Coote, did not survive him above five months; a very remarkable circumstance that the commanders in chief of two armies, opposed to each other, should both die natural deaths, within so short a space of time.

The military success of Hyder Ally founded on the improvement of discipline; attention to merit of every kind; conciliation of the different tribes that served under his banners; contempt of state and ceremony, except what naturally arose from the dignity of his character; and his consequent economy in personal expences (the different habits of which, form the chief distinction of what is called character among ordinary princes) together with his minute attention to matters of finance, and the regular payment of his army; all these together raised him as far above the princes of Indostan, as the great qualities of the late Prussian monarch raised him above the generality of European princes: hence he has generally

nerally been considered as the Frederic of the East. Cruelty was the vice of Hyder; but we are to consider that Hyder's ideas of mercy were regulated by an Asiatic standard; and it is not improbable that he might rate his own character for moderation and clemency, as far above those of Tamerlane, Nadir Shah, and Abdallah, as he rated his discipline above theirs*.

This able and active prince, the most formidable enemy that the English ever experienced in Indostan, left to his son Tippoo Saib the possession of do- A. D. 1783. minions superior in extent to the kingdom of England. Tippoo, as well as his father, has been a troublesome neighbour to the Britons in India; but, in 1792, lord Cornwallis pursued the war with so great success, that towards the end of the year an honourable peace was concluded.

It is the interest of the East India Company, that their governments in India should interfere as little as possible in the domestic or national quarrels of the country powers, and that they should always endeavour to be in a state of peace and tranquility with their neighbours. But these maxims of sound policy they have not adhered to; their governors and servants having unnecessarily, and sometimes very iniquitously, embroiled themselves with the country powers, and engaged in wars of a very pernicious and indefensible nature. The wars into which they have entered with the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally, and his warlike son, Tipoo Saib, have been attended with an enormous expence, and been extremely prejudicial to the interests of the company and the nation at home. By temporary plans of violence and injustice, and sometimes disregarding their own treaties, they have forfeited the good opinion of the natives, and by exciting the indignation of the country princes against them, greatly lessened the security of the possessions of the company.

That the modern history of Indostan may be better understood, I shall give a short account of the present division of property in it. Such is the instability of human greatness, that the present Mogul, Shaw Allum, the descendant of the Great Tamerlane, is merely a *nominal prince*, of no importance in the politics of Indostan. He is permitted to reside at Delhi, which, with a small adjacent territory, is all that remains to him of that vast empire, which his ancestors governed for more than 350 years. The principal divisions of this country are as follow, namely, "*The British possessions; states in alliance with Britain; Tippoo Saib's territories; Mahratta states and their tributaries; and the territories of the Subah of the Deccan.*"

* Major Rennell.

The British possessions contain about a hundred and fifty thousand square British miles *, and ten millions of inhabitants. They consist of three distinct governments, *viz.* Calcutta or Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The government of Bengal was rich, flourishing, and populous, before the late usurpations in Indostan. It is finely watered by the Ganges and Burrampooter with their numerous navigable channels, and the several navigable rivers they receive; it is fertilized by their periodical inundations; and by its natural situation it is well secured against foreign enemies. *Madras* carries on a considerable trade with China, Persia and Mocha. Eighty thousand inhabitants of various nations are said to be dependent upon it; but its safety consists in the superiority of the English by sea. Immense fortunes have been acquired by the English upon this coast within forty years; but some of these fortunes appear to have been obtained by the most iniquitous practices. There seems to have been some fundamental errors in the constitution of the East India Company. The directors considered the riches acquired by their governors, and other servants, as being plundered from the company, and accordingly sent out superintendants to control their governors and overgrown servants, and have from time to time changed their governors and members of the council there.

With regard to the English East India Company we may observe, that through the distractions of the Mogul empire, the enterprizing spirit of their military officers, and the assistance of the English navy, they have acquired an income superior to the revenues of many crowned heads; and some of their own servants pretend, that when all their expences are paid, their clear revenue amounts to near *two millions* sterling; out of which they were to pay 400,000*l.* annually to the government, while suffered to enjoy their dominions. The company has exercised many rights appropriated to sovereignty; such as those of holding forts, coining money, and the like. These powers were thought incompatible with the principles of a commercial limited company, and therefore the English ministry and parliament have repeatedly interfered, and at length have established a board of control at home. It is hoped, that in consequence of this institution, such measures may be taken with the Eastern princes and potentates, as may render the acquisitions of the company permanent and national.

The situation of Madras is naturally bad, which seems to be owing to the neighbourhood of the diamond mines. These mines are under the direction of a Mogul officer, who lets

* Great Britain and Ireland do not contain so many by 18,000.

them out by admeasurement, enclosing the contents by palisadoes. All diamonds above a certain weight originally belonged to the emperor. The district belonging to Madras doth not extend much more than forty miles round, and is of little value for its product.—*Bombay* is well fortified, and has a fine harbour. *Telicherry*, on the Malabar coast, is dependent on *Bombay*. *Surat* is one of the most rich and commercial cities in *Indostan*.

The *British Allies* are the Nabobs of Oude and Arcot, comprehending the eastern part of the ancient Carnatic; Futty Sing Guicker, in the Soubah of Guzerat; and the Rajah of Ghod.

The language of the court of Delhi is Persian, but in the peninsula beyond the Ganges it is chiefly Malayan, interspersed with other dialects.

It is a problem, which at first sight appears difficult to solve, that the gold and silver imported from America into Europe, should be continually swallowed up in India, never to return, and yet that the common people should be so poor as to work almost for nothing. But the reason is, because this money does not go among the common people, but among the merchants. The price of labour is less in this country, though the richest upon earth, than in any other. In all parts of the world a labourer's daily hire seldom exceeds his food and raiment. Now, the extreme fertility of the soil, and the heat of the climate, are the causes why this food and raiment are so cheap in India. The labourer, who digs for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy a little rice, and a cotton shirt. The poor, all over the world, sell their service for a trifle to the rich.

Some have imagined, that the Mogul was originally invested with arbitrary power, because Aurengzebe made every thing yield to his authority. But they did not consider, that his power being entirely founded on force, can last no longer than a prince is at the head of an army; and that this despotism, which destroys every thing, is at length self-destroyed. It is not a form of government, but a subversion of all government. It admits of caprice as its only rule. It does not rely upon laws to secure its duration; so that the colossus tumbles down to the ground, when it ceases to lift up its arm. Out of its ruins several petty tyrants arise; and the state does not resume a settled form till it is governed by law*.

* Voltaire.

C H A P. VII.

MODERN PERSIA.

Revolutions.—Nadir Shah assassinated.—Kerim Khan.—Competitors for the Persian Throne.—Manufactures.—Ruins of Darius' Palace.—Mosques.—Hospitality, Religion, and Literature of the Persians.

PERSIA is a large empire, lying eastward of Turkey, between the Caspian and Arabian seas. The metropolis, and residence of the sovereign, is Isfahan*, a fine spacious city, containing 600,000 inhabitants. It is subject to its own sopher, or emperor, and its government is absolute. The Persian empire, founded by Cyrus, after his conquest of Media, continued till it was overthrown by Alexander the Great. A new empire, stiled the Parthian, was formed by the Persians under Arbaces; but Artaxerxes restored it to its ancient title. The Saracens, however, at last put an end to it. From this time Persia A. D. 651. was a prey to the Tartars, and a province of Indostan, till it was once more raised to a powerful kingdom, in the following singular manner. Shah Hussein, known only by lending his name to the epocha of his country's ruin, had been dethroned during the commotions. One of this emperor's sons, named Thomas, having escaped the massacre of the Imperial family, was followed by some faithful subjects to the neighbourhood of Tauris. Civil wars and national calamities are productive of extraordinary men, who would never perhaps have been heard of in peaceful times. A shepherd's son became the protector of prince Thomas, and the support of a throne which he afterwards usurped. This man, who ranks among the greatest conquerors, was named Nadir, and kept his father's sheep in the plains of Khorassan. We must not imagine those shepherds to be like ours. The pastoral life, as still preserved in many parts of Asia, is not inconsistent with wealth. The tents of those rich shepherds are far more valuable than the houses of our farmers. Nadir sold the greatest part of his father's flocks, and put himself at the head of a gang of banditti; a practice very common in those parts, where the people retain the manners of antiquity. He surrendered himself, and his men to prince Thomas, and by his ambition, courage, and activity, was raised to the

* Its distance from London is about 2,450 miles.

command of the army. He then took the name of Thomas Kouli Khan; that is, the *Khan, slave to Thomas*. But the slave was master, under a weak effeminate prince like his father Hussein. Having recovered Isfahan and all Persia, he restored prince Thomas to the throne of his ancestors. He resolved, however, to prevent him from being ungrateful; for, after putting out his eyes, he caused himself to be declared king of Persia by the name of Shah Nadir *. He beat the Turks in several engagements, but could not take Bagdad. The great principle of his government was to strike terror into all his subjects by the most cruel executions. His conduct became so intolerable, that it was thought his brain was touched; and he was assassinated in his own tent, partly in self-defence, by his chief officers and relations. A. D. 1747.

The confusion which prevailed through the whole country, from the death of Nadir, until the settlement of Kerim Khan, prevented all attempts of literature, arts, and sciences. During this interval, the whole empire of Persia was in arms, and rent by commotions. Different parties, in different provinces of the kingdom, struggled for power, and each endeavoured to render itself independent of the other. Torrents of blood were shed, and the most shocking crimes were committed with impunity †.

Kerim Khan was a favourite officer of Nadir Shah, and at the time of his death was in the southern provinces. Shirauz and other places had declared for him. He found means, at last, after various encounters, with doubtful success, completely to subdue all his rivals, and finally to establish himself as ruler of all Persia. He was in power about thirty years, the latter part of which he governed Persia under the appellation of regent; for he never would receive the title of Shah. He made Shirauz the chief city of his residence, in gratitude for the assistance he had received from its inhabitants. He died in the eightieth year of his age, regretted by all his subjects, who esteemed and honoured him as the glory of Persia. A. D. 1779. His character is most deservedly celebrated for the public buildings which he erected, and the excellent police which he maintained. During his whole reign, there was not in Shirauz a single riot productive of bloodshed. Besides these, his aversion to severe punishments, his liberality and kindness to the poor, his toleration of people of different persuasions, his partiality for Europeans, and his encouragement of trade, together with his great military abilities and personal courage, rendered him not only beloved by his own subjects, but greatly respected by foreign powers.

* Voltaire.

† Universal History.

Of all the competitors for the throne of Persia since the death of Kerim Khan, I shall only take notice of the two principal. Akau Mahomet Khan is acknowledged as sovereign in the provinces of Mazanderan and Ghilan, as well as the cities of Ispahan and Tauris. Jaafar Khan has possession of the city of Shirauz, and several provinces. In the places where he is acknowledged, he is well beloved and respected. He is very kind and obliging to strangers in general, and to the English in particular. In case of success against his opponent, he is very likely to restore the country to a happy and reputable state. But it will require a long space of time to recover it from the calamities into which the different revolutions have brought it:—a country, if an Oriental metaphor may be allowed, once blooming as the garden of Eden, fair and flourishing to the eye;—now sad reverse! despoiled and leafless, by the cruel ravages of war, and desolating contention.—The forces of the two competitors are nearly equal, consisting of about *twenty thousand* men, chiefly cavalry.

The trade of the Persians, who have little or no shipping of their own, is carried on in foreign bottoms. That with the English and other nations, by the gulf of Ormus at Gombroon, was the most lucrative they had; but the perpetual wars in which they are engaged have ruined their commerce. They equal, if not exceed, all the manufacturers in the world, in silk, carpets, and leather. Their works in these join fancy, taste, and elegance, to richness, neatness, and shew; and yet they are ignorant of painting, and their drawings are very rude. Their dying excels that of Europe. Their silver and gold laces are admirable for preserving their lustre. Their embroideries and horse furniture are not to be equalled*.

The ruins of Darius's palace are by many preferred to those of ancient Rome or Greece, and even to the pyramids of Egypt, or the structures of Alexander the Great. This vast fabric is at the foot of a high mountain that overlooks a plain above thirty miles in length and twenty in breadth, where the famous Persepolis is supposed to have stood. The front of it looks towards the west, and is five hundred common paces in length. In the middle of the palace is the amphitheatre for the shews of wild beasts, and other sports. Here likewise are the remains of several figures cut in half relief, of men fighting with wild beasts, and princes sitting with truncheons in their hands, or walking under umbrellas. Besides the rare design and workmanship of these figures,

* Hanway.

they are very remarkable for their variety of habits, some having long beards down to the waist, and hair on the other side so short that it scarce touches the neck. Others have a flat round cap on their heads, and their garments down to their heels, wide and full of gathers like the gowns of senators. It is very remarkable, however, that among so many hundred figures, there is not one woman; and that, though the structure has stood upwards of two thousand years, the marble is not the least decayed. It shines with such brightness as if it were newly finished*.

Whilst a rude and insolent demeanour peculiarly marks the character of the Turkish nation towards foreigners and Christians, the behaviour of the Persians would, on the contrary, do honour to the most civilized nations. The practice of hospitality is with them so grand a point, that a man thinks himself highly honoured if you will enter his house and partake of what the family affords; whereas going out of a house, without smoaking a calcan, or taking any other refreshment, is deemed, in Persia, a high affront; they say that every meal a stranger partakes with them brings a blessing upon the house. They are so immoderately fond of tobacco, which they smoke through a tube fixed in water, so as to be cool in the mouth, that when it has been prohibited by their princes, they have been known to leave their country†. In the conversations of the Persians, there is one thing much to be admired, and that is the strict attention they always pay to the person speaking.

Justice is administered in Persia in a very summary manner; the sentence, whatever it may be, being always put into execution on the spot. Theft is generally punished with the loss of nose and ears; robbing on the road, by ripping up the belly of the criminal, in which situation he is exposed upon a gibbet in one of the most public parts of the city and there left until he expires in torment; a dreadful punishment; but it renders robberies in Persia very uncommon. The punishments in this country are so varied and cruel, that humanity shudders at the thought; and the happy Englishman viewing them, blesses himself that he is born in the arms of freedom, where property is not only sacred, but justice administered with mercy!

The Persians are Mahometans; but the present race are said to be very cool in the doctrines of the *Prophet*, owing chiefly to their late wars with the Turks. Their *mosques*, or churches, as in other Mahometan countries, are square, and generally of stone. Before the chief gate there is a

* Gemelli.

† Francklin.

square court paved with white marble, and low galleries round it, which serve for places of ablution before worship is begun. About every mosque there are six high towers, from which instead of a bell the people are called to prayer by certain officers appointed for that purpose. No woman is allowed to enter the mosques; nor can a man with his shoes or stockings on. Near most mosques is a place of entertainment for strangers; and the tomb of the founder, with conveniencies for reading the Koran, and praying.

It has been disputed among the learned, whether the Arabs had their language from the Persians; but this chiefly rests on the great intermixture of Arabic words in the Persian language, and the decision seems to be in favour of the Arabs. There is a manuscript at Oxford containing the lives of many fine Persian poets. Ferdusi composed the history of Persia in a series of epic poems, which are said to be a *glorious* monument of eastern genius and learning*. Sadi, who flourished in the thirteenth century, wrote many fine pieces, both in prose and verse. Jami was a most animated and elegant poet, whose beautiful compositions, on A.D. 1450. a great variety of subjects, are preserved at Oxford, in 22 volumes. The name and character of the sprightly Hafez are sufficiently known to Orientalists. Seventeen of his odes have been translated into English by Mr. Nott, with which he has published the originals, for the purpose of promoting the study of the Persian language. The *twelfth* ode has also appeared in English dress by the elegant hand of Sir William Jones. Hafez is in greater esteem among his countrymen than any other of their poets. They venerate him almost to adoration, never speaking of him but in the highest terms of rapture and enthusiasm. A most elegant copy of his works is kept upon his tomb, for the inspection of all who go to it. The principal youth of Shiraz, his native city, assemble there, and shew every possible mark of respect for their favourite poet, making plentiful libations of delicious wine to his memory.— At present, learning is at a very low ebb among the Persians. Their boasted skill in astronomy is now reduced to a mere smattering in that science, and terminates in judicial astrology; so that no people in the world are more superstitious than the Persians. Should a Newton, a Halley, or a Cassini, appear in Persia, they would be neglected, if they did not predict †.

* Sir William Jones.

† Voltaire.

C H A P. VIII.

JAPAN AND OTHER ASIATIC ISLANDS.

*Of the Inhabitants of Japan.—They seem to be Aborigines.—
Philippine, Molucca, and Sunda Islands.—Ouran-Outang,
—Batavia.—Ceylon,*

JAPAN ought to have been known to Europe so early as the thirteenth century, by the travels of the celebrated Mark Paolo, a Venetian, who went to China by land. But though his cotemporaries used to swallow the absurdest fables, they would not give credit to the truths revealed by Paolo. His manuscript lay a long time in obscurity, till it fell at length into the hands of Christopher Columbus, and greatly contributed to confirm him in his hopes of discovering a new world, which should join the East and West. Columbus was only mistaken in his opinion, that Japan joined the western hemisphere.

The Japan islands, Japan or Nipham, Bongo, Tonso, and Dezima, form together what has been called the empire of Japan, and are governed by a most despotic prince, who is sometimes called emperor and sometimes king. They are situate about 150 miles east of China, their soil and productions being pretty much the same with those of that country. The inhabitants are famous for their lacker ware, known by the name of Japan; and they are the only people in Asia who were never conquered. They are compared to the English for that insular pride which is common to them both; and for *suicide* which is thought to be so frequent. The Japanese do not appear to be a mixture of different nations, like the English, and almost all nations in this part of the globe. They seem rather to be Aborigines*. The first compliment offered to a stranger, in their houses, is a dish of tea and a pipe of tobacco. Fans are used by both sexes equally, and are, within or without doors, their inseparable companions. Obedience to parents, and respect to superiors are the characteristics of this nation; and, perhaps, there is no country where fewer crimes against society are committed. Commerce and manufactures flourish here, though, as these people have few wants, they are not carried to the extent which we see in Europe. They trade with no foreigners but the Dutch and Chinese, and in both cases with companies of privileged merchants. All the

* Voltaire.

eastern nations were formerly much superior to us in the arts of design and in mechanics. But how amazingly have we recovered our lost time! The countries where Raphael and Hogarth painted, where Bramante and Michael Angelo built St. Peter's of Rome, where Newton ascertained the laws of the universe, where Shakespear, Milton, Swift, and Thomson flourished, where Handel "waked to ecstacy" the living lyre," are become the principal parts of the globe. Other nations are no more than barbarians or infants in the polite arts, notwithstanding their antiquity, and all that nature hath done in their favour.

The Philippine islands are said to be *eleven hundred* in number. They were discovered by Magellan, and afterwards conquered by the Spaniards in the reign of Philip II. from whom they take their name. If a sprig of an orange or lemon tree is planted there, it becomes within the year a fruit-bearing tree; so that the verdure and luxuriancy of the soil are almost incredible. The tree amply supplies the natives with water; and there is also a kind of cane, which if cut yields water enough for a draught. This abounds in the mountains where the water is most wanted.

The *Molucca* islands are famous for their cloves, mace, and nutmegs.—The Sunda islands, so denominated from lying near the straits of that name, are Borneo, Sumatra, and Java; Borneo is one of the largest islands in the world, being 700 miles long and as many broad. The famous *Ouran-outang* is a native of this island. It is now found to have the intermaxillary bone, in common with other quadrupeds, and in many other particulars to differ from the human form, with which it was long supposed to have so near a resemblance. *Sumatra* has a settlement on its coast named Bencoolen, made by the English East-India Company, which preserved to them the pepper trade, after the Dutch had dispossessed them of Bantam. This island produces so much gold, that it is thought by some to be the Ophir mentioned in the scriptures; but a judicious writer*, in his late history of the island, thinks it was unknown to the ancients. The capital of Java is Batavia, where the Dutch have erected a kind of commercial monarchy, and which is furnished with one of the finest harbours in the world. The city is as beautiful as it is strong, and its canals, bridges, and avenues render it a most agreeable residence.—Ceylon, is thought to be the richest and finest island in the world. The Indians call it Cachi, and all the idolaters of Asia look upon it as the abode of

* Mr. Marsden.

their gods. In 1656, the Dutch were invited by the natives of this delicious island, to defend them against the Portuguese, whom they expelled, and have ever since monopolized the spice trade, for which it is famous.

C H A P. IX.

THE EMPIRE OF MOROCCO, AND OTHER STATES OF BARBARY.

Revolutions.—Muley Moluc.—Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers.—Dress and Habitations of the Moors.—The Camel.—Of the Deys or Bashaws.—Carthage and Utica.

A FRICA once contained several kingdoms and states, eminent for the liberal arts, for wealth and power, and the most extensive commerce. The kingdoms of Egypt and Ethiopia, in particular, were much celebrated; and the rich and powerful state of Carthage, that once formidable rival to Rome itself, extended her commerce to every part of the ancient world; even the British shores were visited by her fleets, till Juba, who was king of Mauritania, but tributary to the republic of Carthage, unhappily called in the Romans, who, with the assistance of the Mauritanians, subdued Carthage, and by degrees all the neighbouring kingdoms and states. After this, the natives constantly plundered, and consequently impoverished, by the governors sent from Rome, neglected their trade, and cultivated no more of their lands than might serve for their subsistence. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, in the fifth century, the north of Africa was over-run by the Vandals, who contributed still more to the destruction of arts and sciences; and to add to this country's calamity, the Saracens made a sudden conquest of all the coasts of Egypt and Barbary, in the seventh century. These were succeeded by the Turks; and both being of the Mahometan religion, whose professors carried desolation with them wherever they came, the ruin of that once flourishing part of the world was thereby completed.

The states of Barbary, Morocco and Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Barca, form one great political confederacy, though each be independent as to the exercise of its internal policy.

The emperor of Morocco and Fez is not immediately subject to the Porte; but he acknowledges the Grand Signior

nior to be his superior, and pays him a distant allegiance as the chief representative of Mahomet. From Morocco, which includes part of Mauritania Tingitana, came those Moors who afterwards conquered Spain. In the thirteenth century Fez and Tremecen, provinces of this empire, revolted and became separate kingdoms. Morocco was afterwards seized by the kings of Fez; and finally, the descendants of Mahomet subdued and united the three A. D. 1550. kingdoms again, under the title of Empire of Morocco, and thus they still continue.

Tangiers was its capital when a Roman colony. This place was taken towards the end of the fifteenth century by the Portuguese, and given away to Charles II. king of England as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal. At length Charles relinquished it to the kings of Morocco; so that few towns have undergone more revolutions.

The Emperors of Morocco have been in general a set of bloody tyrants, though they have had among them some able princes, particularly Muley Moluc, who defeated and killed Don Sebastian king of Portugal. They have lived in almost a continual state of warfare with the kings of Spain and other Christian princes ever since; nor does the crown of Great Britain sometimes disdain to purchase their friendship with presents.

Tripoli, which is the next state we come to in going westward; having been conquered by Peter of Navarre, in the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, was given by Charles VI. to the knights of Malta. But Solymán's admiral seized it; and ever since that time it has been governed in the form of a republic, at the head of which is a general called the Dey, who is chosen by the militia. Tripoli was once the richest, most populous, and opulent of all the states on the coast; but it is now much reduced.

Farther on we meet with TUNIS, the ancient residence of the Carthaginians. The inhabitants of this A. D. 1590. province obtained leave of the emperor of the Turks to elect their own Dey, in the same manner as Tripoli. The people of Tunis are more polished than those of the other Barbary states. Even the most civilized of the European governments might improve from their manners. The complexion of the ladies is very delicate, nor are they less neat and elegant in their dress; but they improve the beauty of their eyes by art, particularly the powder of lead ore, which, according to the opinion of a learned author*, Jezebel made use of, when, in the sacred writings, she is said to have painted her face. Tunis contains the remains of

* Dr. Shaw.

many noble cities. The capital, which also bears the name of Tunis, is about thirty miles south of old Carthage, and three miles in circumference.

Algiers, which bounds the Turkish empire in Africa, is the ancient Mauritania, so famous for the kings Juba, Masinissa, and Syphax. There is scarce any vestige of Cirta the capital. Juba's kingdom, several centuries ago, had become so trifling a concern, that Chere's Barbatossa chose rather to be admiral to the Grand Signior than king of Algiers. This province he resigned to Solymán, and from a king condescended to become a bashaw. Since that time, till the beginning of the seventeenth century, Algiers was governed by bashaws sent thither by the Porte. But at length the same form of government was introduced here as at Tripoli and Tunis, and Algiers became a nest of pirates. The prospect of the country and sea from the metropolis is very beautiful; but though, for several ages, Algiers has braved some of the greatest powers in christendom, it could make but a faint defence against a regular siege. Three English fifty-gun ships might batter it about the ears of the inhabitants from the harbour. They attacked it by land and by sea, but were repulsed with great loss, though they had near 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, *forty-seven* king's ships of different rates, and 346 transports. A. D. 1775.

The subjects of the Barbary states, in general subsisting by piracy, are allowed to be bold, intrepid mariners, and will fight desperately when they meet with a prize at sea; but if we except the inhabitants of Tunis, they are void of all arts and literature. How humiliating is it for human nature to see almost all nations degenerate insensibly from the virtues of their ancestors, and preserve only their vices! This, however, is the picture which the history of all ages presents to us. Where at present shall we find the sages of Greece, the learned Egyptians, and the heroes of ancient Rome? We should in vain seek for them in their descendants, while the Asiatic has preserved his primitive effeminacy, and the barbarous African still thirsts after blood.

The dress of the Moors of the deserts and mountains is perfectly well described by Fenelon, when speaking of the customs of the Bæotians, he says, "Their dresses are easily made; for, in that mild climate, nothing is worn but a piece of fine light stuff, uncut, which they throw about their body in long folds, giving it whatever form they please *." The habitations of the Moors are as simple as

* Telemachus, Book VIII.

their dress. They inhabit only tents or huts, constructed with the branches of trees and reeds. The form of each tent is almost like that of a tomb, or of the keel of a vessel reversed, as Sallust says, when speaking of the habitations of the Numidians*. The facility with which these habitations are transported makes the Moors often change their abode, according to the season, or as their wants may require. In winter they choose a southern exposure at the bottom of some hill; in summer they approach those places where there are plenty of pastures and abundance of springs.

According to the principles of their religion, the Moors are obliged, both before and after meat, to wash their hands, beard, and mouth; but many neglect this ceremony. As Mahometans, they have nothing to drink but water, drawn up in a wooden bason, from which they all drink in their turn. However, they do not refuse wine, when it is offered them, if they are not seen †.

The Barbary horses were formerly very valuable, and thought equal to the Arabian. Though their breed is now said to be decayed, yet some very fine ones are occasionally imported into England.

Dromedaries and mules are the African beasts of burthen; but from the services of the camel the natives derive the greatest advantages. This useful quadruped enables them to perform their toilsome journies across that continent. The camel, is, therefore, emphatically called the *ship of the desert* ‡. He seems to have been created for this very trade, endued with parts and qualities adapted to the office he is employed to discharge. The driest thistle, and the barest thorn, is all the food this useful animal requires, and even these, to save time, he eats while advancing on his journey, without stopping, or occasioning a moment of delay. As it is his lot to cross immense deserts, where no water is to be found, and countries not even moistened by the dew of heaven, he is endued with the power at one watering-place to lay in a store with which he supplies himself for thirty days to come. To contain this enormous quantity of fluid, nature has formed large cisterns within him, from which, once filled, he draws at pleasure the quantity he wants, and pours it into his stomach with the same effect as if he then drew from a spring, and with this he travels, patiently and vigorously, all day long, carrying a prodigious load upon him, through countries infected with

* Cæterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestiumque Mapilia illi vocant oblonga lateribus incurvis tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Sall. Bell. Jugur.

† M. Poiret.

‡ Mr. Bruce.

poisonous

poisonous winds, and glowing with parching and never-cooling sand.

Though Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, have each of them a Turkish bashaw or dey, who govern in the name of the Grand Signior, yet very little regard is paid by his ferocious subjects to his authority. He cannot even be said to be nominated by the Porte. When a vacancy of the government happens, which it commonly does by murder, every soldier in the army has a vote in choosing the succeeding dey. It is true, he must be confirmed by the Porte; but that is seldom refused, as the divan is no stranger to the dispositions of the people. The income of the deys is very considerable. A detachment of the army of their states is annually sent into each province to collect the tribute from the Moors and Arabs; and the prizes taken at sea, sometimes equal the taxes laid upon the natives. These deys pay slight annual tributes to the Porte. When the Grand Signior is at war with a Christian power, he requires their assistance, as he does that of the king of Morocco, but he is obeyed only as they think proper. The authority of the dey is unlimited; but an unsuccessful expedition, or too pacific a conduct, seldom fails to put an end to his life and government.

It has often been thought surprising, that the Christian powers should suffer their marine to be insulted by those barbarians, who take the ships of all nations with whom they are not at peace, or rather, who do not pay them a subsidy either in money or commodities. Perhaps a breach with them might provoke the Porte, who pretends to be their lord paramount; and nothing could be got by a bombardment of any of their towns, as the inhabitants would instantly carry their effects to their deserts and mountains, so that the benefit, resulting from the conquest, must be tedious and precarious. Besides, no Christian power would be fond of seeing Algiers, and the rest of that coast, in possession of another.

With regard to the Ottoman Porte we may remark, that the situation of Constantinople seems to have formed it for empire, as it has Asia in the front, and Europe behind its back. Its harbour, safe and spacious, opens and shuts the passage of the Black Sea towards the east, and of the Mediterranean to the west. Rome, far less advantageously situated, in an unfavourable soil and a corner of Italy, did not seem to be near so well adapted for establishing a dominion over nations; and yet she became the capital of an empire three times as extensive as that of the Turks. The reason is obvious. The ancient Romans met with no na-

tion that understood the art of war so well as themselves. The Ottomans, on the contrary, after the conquest of Constantinople, found almost all the other nations of Europe as warlike as themselves, and with better disciplined troops*.

I shall conclude this chapter with observing, that a few of the aqueducts of Carthage are said still to remain, but no vestige of its walls. The same is the fate of Utica, famous for the retreat and death of Cato, and many other renowned cities of antiquity. With regard to Carthage, an intelligent writer †, who had frequent opportunities of going over the ground where it stood, is of opinion that this celebrated city was about fifteen miles in circumference. There are three eminences, which are so many heaps of fine marble pounded together, and were, in all probability, the sites of temples, and other distinguished buildings. The present buildings, he says, are not the remains of the ancient city destroyed by the Romans, who entirely rased it and ploughed up the very foundations. They are the ruins of the city, which was built on the site of the former, and which was destroyed by the Saracens in the beginning of the seventh century.

C H A P. X.

MODERN EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA.

Conquest of Egypt by the Turks—Origin of the Gipsies—The famous Ali Bey—Grand Cairo, Alexandria and Thebes—The Crocodile, Cameleon, and Cerastes—Incantation of Serpents—Extraction of the King of Abyssinia—Source of the Nile—Description of a remarkable Fly—Peculiar method of computing Time—Interior Parts of Africa—Sierra Leone—African Islands.

AFTER the death of Cleopatra, who had been mistress successively to Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony, Egypt became a Roman province, and thus remained till the reign of Omar, the second calif of the successors of Mahomet, who expelled the Romans after it had been in their hands 700 hundred years. Vizirs then governed it in the name of

* Voltaire.

† Mr. Stanley.

the califs, and, possessed of unbounded power, exercised supreme authority. Many of these vizirs swayed an iron sceptre; some few made commerce, agriculture, and the arts, to flourish. Others, among whom was the famous Ebn Toulon, rebelled, and proclaimed themselves kings; but the crown seldom descended to their children. After the death of the rebel, the province returned to the dominion of its former masters.

In the year 982, Moaz, sovereign of the western part of Africa, and a descendant of the Fatimite califs, who had founded a kindom there two centuries before, sent his generals to conquer Egypt, which having performed, he made it the seat of empire. His offspring reigned till Saladin established the empire of the Turks A. D. 1189. in Africa. This warlike prince, the terror of the crusaders, whom he had almost driven out of Palestine, was overthrown by Richard Cœur de Lion, near the walls of St. John d'Acre; and the name of the English monarch became terrible throughout the east. The government of Saladin and his successors was monarchical, when Egypt became very flourishing. In the year 1250, the Baharite Mamluks*, Turks by descent, massacred Touran Shah, the last prince of the family of Saladin, and the son of Nijem Eddin their benefactor, with whom ended the reign of the Arabian princes over Egypt. The Baharite Mamluks changed its form of government, and made it republican. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the Circassian Mamluks dethroned the Baharites, but preserved their form of government, and continued in possession of Egypt till the conquest of it by the A. D. 1517. Turkish emperor Selim, who reduced it to its present state of subjection.

While Selim was settling the government of Egypt, great numbers of the ancient inhabitants withdrew into the deserts and plains, under one Zinganeus, from whence they attacked the cities and villages of the Nile, and plundered whatever fell in their way. Selim and his officers perceiving that it would be a matter of great difficulty to extirpate those marauders, left them at liberty to quit the country, which they did in great numbers, and their posterity is known all over Europe and Asia, by the name of Gipsies. Of late, however, many of them have incorporated with, and adopted the manners of, the people among whom they reside.

* They were bought of Syrian merchants by Nijem Eddin. Mamluk signifies acquired or possessed.

An attempt was made some years ago to deprive the Ottoman Porte of its authority over Egypt by Ali Bey, whose father was a priest of the Greek church. Ali turned Mahometan, and being a man of great abilities and address, rendered himself extremely popular in Egypt. A false accusation having been made against him to the Grand Signior, his head was ordered to be sent to Constantinople, but being apprized of the design, he seized and put to death the messenger who brought the order, and was soon enabled to put himself at the head of an army. Taking advantage of the distressful and dangerous situation to which the Turkish empire was reduced, in consequence of the war with Russia, he boldly mounted the throne of the ancient sultans of Egypt. But not content with the kingdom of Egypt, he also laid claim to Syria, Palestine, and that part of Arabia which had belonged to the ancient sultans. He marched at the head of his troops to support these pretensions, and actually subdued some of the neighbouring provinces both of Arabia and Syria. At the same time that he was engaged in these great enterprises, he was no less attentive to the establishing of a regular form of government, and introducing order into a country that had been long the seat of anarchy and confusion. His views were equally extended to commerce; for which purpose he gave great encouragement to the Christian traders, and took off some shameful restraints and indignities, to which they were subjected in that barbarous country. He also wrote a letter to the republic of Venice, with the greatest assurances of his friendship, and that their merchants should meet with every degree of protection and safety. His great design was said to be, to make himself master of the Red Sea; to open the port of Suez to all nations, but particularly to the Europeans, and to render Egypt once more the great centre of commerce. The conduct and views of Ali Bey shewed an extent of thought and ability that indicated nothing of the barbarian, and bespoke a mind equal to the founding of an empire: but he was not finally successful. He was, however, for some time extremely fortunate. He assumed the titles and state of the ancient sultans of Egypt, and was ably supported by Sheik Daher, and some other Arabian princes, who warmly espoused his interests. He also succeeded in almost all his enterprises against the neighbouring Asiatic governors and bashaws, whom he repeatedly defeated; but he was afterwards deprived of the kingdom of Egypt by the base and ungrateful conduct of his brother-in-law, Mahomed Bey Aboudaab, his troops being totally defeated, and himself wounded

and

and taken prisoner. He died of his wounds, and was buried at Grand Cairo. Aboudaab afterwards governed Egypt as Sheik Bellet, and marched into Palestine to subdue Sheik Daher. After behaving with great cruelty to the inhabitants of the places he took, he was found dead in his bed one morning at Acre, supposed to be strangled. Sheik Daher accepted the Porte's full amnesty, and trusting to their assurances, embraced the captain bashaw's invitation to dine on board his ship, when the captain produced his orders, and the brave Daher, Ali Bey's ally, had his head cut off in the eighty-fifth year of his age. From that time Egypt has been torn by a civil war, between the adherents of Ali, and other beys or princes, who rose on his ruins. Of these the principal are Morad and Ybrahim, who having driven their enemies into banishment, began to quarrel among themselves. Alternately expelled from Cairo, they finally agreed to a compromise; but it is A.D. 1785, not expected that their agreement will be lasting. The Porte still retains a bashaw in Egypt; but this bashaw, confined and watched in the castle of Cairo, is rather the prisoner of the Mamluks, than the representative of the sultan.

The chief cities of Egypt are Grand Cairo, one of the largest cities in the world, near which was the ancient city of Memphis. Thebes, which once had in it an hundred royal palaces; and Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great. This city, which lies on the Levant coast, was once the emporium of the world, and by the means of the Red Sea furnished Europe, and great part of Asia, with the riches of India. It stands forty miles west from the Nile, and is a hundred and twenty north-west of Cairo. It rose upon the ruins of Tyre and Carthage.

When the Nile rises to its usual height, the principal street of Cairo, called the *Kalisch*, is converted into a canal. "The festival," says a late traveller, "was very brilliant; the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses were filled with people. The water having been slow in coming, they testified some uneasiness, but its abundance soon made every one quiet; and those unhappy wretches, whom I before mentioned, sent forth cries of joy, without reflecting, that the half of them would perish with hunger, before they could see that harvest from which they hoped to derive so much relief. Nothing can equal the superstitious respect which the inhabitants of Egypt entertain for the river that nourishes them. Some took a pleasure in crossing the muddy water in all directions, and mothers plunged their children into

“ it, who came out as black as toads. In short, the crowd
 “ did not disperse until the water came so high, that it ob-
 “ liged them to retire. Since that time, the Kalisch has
 “ been covered with elegant barks, the rowers of which
 “ accompany their labour with a song rather monotonous,
 “ but harmonious, and which has nothing of the dis-
 “ cordant and shrill cries of the Turkish music. The
 “ pacha and principal beys assist at the opening of the
 “ Kalisch, and certify by a writing, that the water has en-
 “ tered it; without this the Grand Signior could not demand
 “ any tribute from Egypt. But all this is only ceremony;
 “ for the beys, nevertheless, keep all the revenues of the
 “ country to themselves, and send very little to Constanti-
 “ nople.”

Egypt is inhabited by four different races of people, the Turks, who pretend to be masters of the country; the Arabs, who were conquered by the Turks; the Coptes, who are descended from the ancient Egyptians, mixed with the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, who successively conquered Egypt; and, the Mamluks, who were originally Circassian and Mingrelian slaves, and being the only military force, are the real masters of the country. The Turks, who reside in Egypt, retain all their Ottoman pride and insolence, and wear the Turkish habit, to distinguish themselves from the Arabs and Coptes, who dress very plain. Though it is supposed that the Greeks derived all their knowledge from the ancient Egyptians, yet scarcely a vestige of it remains among their descendants. The jargon of astrology, with such knowledge as is necessary for the dispatch of business, is all the learning they possess.

The women of modern Egypt are far from being on so respectable a footing as they were in ancient times, or as the European women are at present. In Europe, women act parts of great consequence, and often reign sovereigns on the world's vast theatre. They influence manners and morals, and decide on the most important events. The fate of nations is frequently in their hands. How different is their situation in Egypt! there they are bound down by the fetters of slavery, condemned to servitude, and have no influence in public affairs. Their empire is confined within the walls of the harem*. There are their graces and charms entombed. The circle of their life extends not beyond their own family and domestic duties. Their first care is to educate their children. The harem is the cradle and school of infancy. The new-born feeble being is not there swaddled and filleted up in a swathe, the source of a thousand diseases. Laid naked on a mat, exposed in a vast

* The women's apartment.

chamber to the pure air, he breathes freely, and with his delicate limbs ſprawls at pleaſure. The new element, in which he is to live, is not entered with pain and tears. Daily bathed beneath his mother's eye, he grows apace. Free to act, he tries his coming powers; rolls, crawls, riſes, and, ſhould he fall, cannot much hurt himſelf on the carpet or mat, which covers the floor. The daughter's education is the ſame. Whalebone and buſks, which martyr European girls, they know not. The dreſs they wear confines none of their limbs, but ſuffers the body to take its true form; and nothing is more uncommon than ricketty children, and crooked people. In Egypt, man riſes in all his majeſty, and woman diſplays every charm of perſon. Subject to the immutable laws by which cuſtom governs the Eaſt, the women do not aſſociate with the men, not even at table, where the union of ſexes produces mirth and wit, and makes food more ſweet. When the great incline to dine with one of their wives, ſhe is informed, prepares the apartment, perfumes it with precious eſſences, procures the moſt delicate viands, and receives her lord with the utmoſt attention and reſpect. Among the common people, the women uſually ſtand, or ſit in a corner of the room, while the huſband dines. They often hold the baſon for him to waſh, and ſerve him at table. Cuſtoms like theſe, which the Europeans rightly call barbarous, and exclaim againſt with juſtice, appear ſo natural in Egypt, that they do not ſuſpect it can be otherwiſe elſewhere. Such is the power of habit over men. What has been for ages, he ſuppoſes a law of nature.

The *crocodile* was formerly thought peculiar to Egypt, but there does not ſeem to be any material difference between it and the aligators of India and America. They are both amphibious animals, in the form of a lizard, and grow till they are about twenty feet in length, and have four ſhort legs, with large feet, armed with claws, and their backs are covered with a kind of impenetrable ſcales like armour. The crocodile waits for his prey in the ſedge, and other cover, on the ſides of the rivers; and, pretty much reſembling the trunk of an old tree, ſometimes ſurprizes the unwary traveller with his fore paws, or beats him down with his tail. The *camelion*, a little animal ſomething reſembling a lizard, that changes colour as you ſtand to look upon him, is found here as well as in neighbouring countries. The *hyppopotamus*, or river horſe, an amphibious animal, reſembling an ox in its hinder parts, with the head of a horſe, is common in Upper Egypt.

The *ceraſtes*, or horned viper, inhabits the greateſt part

of the eastern continent, especially the desert sandy parts of it. It abounds in Syria, in the three Arabias, and in Africa. It is probable that this was the asp which Cleopatra employed to procure her death. Alexandria, plentifully supplied by water, must then have had fruit of all kinds in its gardens. The baskets of figs must have come from thence, and the asp, or cerasstes, that was hid in them, from the adjoining desert, where there are plenty to this day. The poison is very copious for so small a creature; it is fully as large as a drop of laudanum dropped from a phial by a careful hand. Viewed through a glass, it appears not perfectly transparent or pellucid. People have doubted whether or not this yellow liquor is the poison, and the reason has been, that animals who had tasted it did not die as when bitten, but this reason does not hold in modern physics. We know that the saliva of a mad dog has been given to animals and has not affected them; and a German physician was bold enough to distil the pus, or putrid matter flowing from the ulcer of a person infected by the plague, and taste it afterwards without any bad consequences; so that it is clear that the poison has no activity, till through some sore or wound it is admitted into circulation.

There are few subjects of more curious investigation, than the incantation of serpents. There is no doubt of its reality. The scriptures are full of it. All that have been in Egypt have seen as many different instances as they chose. Some have doubted that it was a trick, and that the animals, so handled, had been first trained, and then disarmed of their powers of hurting; and fond of the discovery they have rested themselves upon it, without experiment, in the face of all antiquity. But I will not hesitate to aver, says a late ingenious traveller*, that I have seen at Cairo (and this may be seen daily without trouble or expence) a man who has taken a cerasstes with his naked hands from a number of others lying at the bottom of a tub, has put it upon his bare head, and tied it about his neck like a necklace; after which it has been applied to a hen, and bit it, which has died in a few minutes.

ABYSSINIA is an extensive country, of which, for a long time, our European nations had no other knowledge than by name. It was under the celebrated John II. king of Portugal, that Don Francisco d'Alvarez first found his way to those immense regions, situated between the tropic and the equator, of such difficult access by sea. The country was poor, though abounding with silver mines. The in-

* Mr. Bruce.

habitants, less industrious than the Americans, knew neither how to work those mines, nor to make use of the treasure which the earth abundantly furnished for the real wants of man. Agreeably to this we meet with a letter from David, king of Abyssinia, to the Portuguese governor of India, begging for workmen of every kind. This indeed was very poor. Three fourths of Africa, America, and the northern parts of Asia, laboured under the same poverty. In the midst of the luxurious opulence of our towns, we are apt to imagine, that the rest of the world are like ourselves; not reflecting, that mankind, till they are civilized, "live in the midst of gold and diamond mines, "with hardly food and raiment*." So weak was this boasted kingdom of Abyssinia, that a petty Mahometan prince, possessed of a neighbouring province, made almost an entire conquest of it, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have still the famous letter from John Bermudes to Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, whereby we may be convinced, either that the Abyssinians are not the invincible nation mentioned by Herodotus, or that they have greatly degenerated. They give the name of *Prester John* to the negus or king of Abyssinia, because he is said, to be descended from the race of Solomon, by the queen of Sheba. He is absolute both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. He very often judges capital crimes himself; but no man is condemned to die for the *first fault*, unless the crime be of a horrid nature, such as parricide or sacrilege. And, in general, the life and merits of the prisoner are weighed against his immediate guilt; so that if his first behaviour has had more merit towards the state than his present delinquency is thought to have injured it, the one is placed fairly against the other, and the accused is generally absolved when the sovereign judges alone.

The Nile takes its rise in this country, to discover the sources of which animated a late celebrated traveller through toils and dangers innumerable. When he stood in rapture over the principal fountain, what mingled emotions must have arisen in his mind! "It is easier to guess than to describe the situation of my mind," says he, "when standing "in that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and "enquiry of both ancients and moderns, for the course of "near three thousand years. Kings had attempted this "discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was "distinguished from the last, only by the difference of the "numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the

* Voltaire.

“disappointment which had uniformly and without exception followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour, had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprize and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography. Though a mere private Briton, I triumphed here in my own mind, over kings and their armies; and every comparison was leading nearer and nearer to presumption, when the place itself where I stood, the object of my vain-glory, suggested what depressed my short-lived triumphs. I was but a few minutes arrived at the sources of the Nile, through numberless dangers and sufferings, the least of which would have overwhelmed me but for the continued goodness and protection of providence; I was, however, but then half through my journey, and all those dangers which I had already passed, awaited me again on my return. I saw Strates expecting me on the side of the hill: “Strates,” said I, “faithful squire, come and triumph with your Don Quixote at that island of Barataria, where we have wisely and fortunately brought ourselves; come and triumph with me over all the kings of the earth, all their armies, all their philosophers and all their heroes.”—“Sir, says Strates, I do not understand a word of what you say, and as little of what you mean: you very well know I am no scholar; but you had much better leave that bog, and come into the house.”—“Come,” said I, “take a draught of this excellent water, and drink with me a health to his Majesty George III. and a long line of princes.” “I had in my hand a large cup of cocoa-nut shell, which I procured in Arabia, and which was brim full. He drank to the king speedily and cheerfully, with the addition of “confusion to his enemies,” and tossed up his cap with a loud huzza. “Now friend,” said I, “here is to a more humble, but still a sacred name; here is to—Maria!” “He asked, if that was the virgin Mary? I answered, “In faith I believe so, Strates.” He did not speak, but only gave a humph of disapprobation.

The day had been very hot, so that my thirst led me to these frequent libations at this long sought for spring, the most ancient of all altars. “Strates,” said I, “here is to our happy return. Come, friend, you are yet two toasts behind me; can you ever be satiated with this excellent water?” “Look you, Sir,” says he very gravely, “as for king George, I drank to him with all my heart, to his
“wife,

"wife, to his children, to his brothers and sisters, God
"bless them all ! amen ;—but as for the virgin Mary, as I
"am no papist, I beg to be excused from drinking healths,
"which my church does not drink. But you must forgive
"me, if I refuse to drink any more water."

The number of birds in Abyssinia exceeds that of other animals beyond proportion. The *Tsaltfalya*, or fly, is an insect that has not been described by any naturalist. It is in size very little larger than a bee, of a thicker proportion, and its wings, which are broader than those of a bee, placed separate like those of a fly. Of all those that have written upon these countries, the prophet Isaiah alone has given an account of this animal, and the manner of its operation. "And it shall come to pass, in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost parts of the rivers of Egypt, And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the desolate vallies, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all bushes *." We cannot read the history of the plagues which God brought upon Pharoah by the hands of Moses, without stopping a moment to consider a singularity, which attended this plague of the fly. It was not till this time and by means of this insect, that God said, he would separate his people from the Egyptians. And it would seem that then a law was given to them, which fixed the limits of their habitation. It is well known that the land of Goshen, or Geshen, the possession of the Israelites was a land of pasture, which, was not tilled or sown, because it was not overflowed by the Nile. But the land overflowed by the Nile was the black earth of the valley of Egypt, and it was here that God confined the flies ; for he says, it shall be a sign of this separation of the people, which he had then made, that not one fly should be seen in the sand or pasture ground, the land of Goshen ; and this kind of soil has ever since been the refuge of all cattle emigrating from the black earth to the lower part of Atbara.

Balm, or *balsam*, is found in Abyssinia. We know from scripture, the oldest history extant, as well as the most infallible, that the Ishmaelites, or Arabian carriers and merchants, trafficking with the India commodities into Egypt, brought with them balm as part of the cargo. The Jewish historian †, in his account of the antiquities of his country, says, that a tree of this balsam was brought to Jerusalem by the queen of Sheba, or Abyssinia, and given among other presents to Solomon, who, as we know from scripture, was

* Isaiah, vii. 18.

† Josephus.

very studious of all sorts of plants, and skilful in the description and distinction of them. Notwithstanding this positive authority of Josephus, we are not to put it in competition with that of scripture, from which we know the place where it grew and was sold to merchants, was Gilead in Judæa, more than 1780 years before Christ, or 1000 before the queen of Sheba; so that upon reading the verse, nothing can be more plain than that it had been transplanted into Judæa, flourished, and had become an article of commerce in Gilead, long before the period Josephus mentions: "And they sat down to eat bread, and then lifted up their eyes and looked, and behold a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels, bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down into Egypt*."

The Abyssinians have a way of describing time peculiar to themselves. They read the whole of the four evangelists every year in their churches. They begin with Matthew, then proceed to Mark, Luke and John in order; and when they speak of an event, they write and say it happened in the days of Matthew, that is in the first quarter of the year, while the gospel of St. Matthew was yet reading in the churches.

Their first bishop, Frumentius, being ordained about the year 333, and instructed in the religion of the Greeks of the church of Alexandria, by St. Athanasius, then sitting in the chair of St. Mark, it follows that the true religion of the Abyssinians, which they received on their conversion to Christianity, is that of the Greek church. They receive the holy sacrament in both kinds, in unleavened bread, and in the grape bruised with the husk as it grows; so that it is a kind of marmalade, and is given in a flat spoon. They also observe circumcision.

The *interior parts* of Africa are, comparatively speaking, very little known. In most material circumstances, the inhabitants of this extensive continent agree with each other. If we except the people of Abyssinia, who are tawny, and profess Christianity blended with Judaism and Paganism, they are all of a black complexion. In their religion, except on the sea-coasts which have been visited and inhabited by strangers, they are pagans; and the form of government is every where monarchical. The countries of Mandengo, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Balua, and Monomotapa, are extremely rich in gold and silver. The baser metals likewise are found in these and many other parts of Africa. But the persons of the natives make the most considerable

* Gen. xxxvii. 25.

article in the produce and traffic of this miserable quarter of the globe. On the Guinea or western coast, the English trade to James Fort, and other settlements on the river Gambia, where they exchange their woollen and linen manufactures, their hardware and spirituous liquors, for the persons of the natives. Among the negroes a man's wealth consists in the number of his family, whom he sells like so many cattle, and often at an inferior price. When will this most infamous of all trades, so disgraceful to the Christian name, and so repugnant to the principles of our constitution, be abolished! Let the negroes already in our islands be properly treated, made free, and encouragement given to their population; measures that would be attended with no less profit than honour.

Gold and ivory, next to the slave trade, form the principal branches of African commerce. These are carried on from the same coast, where the Dutch and French, as well as English, have their settlements for this purpose. The Portuguese are in possession of the east and west coast of Africa, from the tropic of capricorn to the equator, which immense tract they became masters of, by their happy discovery and navigation of the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch have settlements towards the southern part of the continent in the country called Caffraria, or the land of the Hottentots, particularly Cape Town, which is well settled and fortified. Here their ships bound for India usually put in, and trade with the natives for their cattle, in exchange for which they give them spirituous liquors. The Cape of Good Hope is very mountainous, and the top is always covered with a cap of clouds before a storm.

Were Africa civilized, and could we pre-occupy the affections of the natives, and introduce gradually our religion, manners and language among them, we should open a market that would fully employ our manufacturers and seamen, morally speaking, till the end of time, and while we enriched ourselves we should contribute to their happiness. It is much to be wished by every friend to humanity, that the new settlement lately formed at Sierra Leone, under the patronage of a very respectable society of gentlemen in London, may answer those benevolent purposes, for which it was intended, viz. to introduce the light of knowledge, and the comforts of civilization into Africa, to cement and perpetuate the most confidential union between the European colony and the natives of that country.

With regard to Africa we may observe, that there is no medium as to the advantages of soil. It is either perfectly barren or extremely fertile: this arises from the intense heat

of

of the sun, which, where it meets with sufficient moisture produces the utmost luxuriance; and in those countries where there are few rivers, reduces the surface of the earth to a barren sand. Of this sort are the countries of Anian and Zaara, which, for want of water, and consequently of all other necessaries, are reduced to perfect deserts, as the name of the latter denotes. In those countries, on the other hand, where there is plenty of water, and particularly where the rivers overflow the land, part of the year, as in Abyssinia, the productions of nature, both of the animal and vegetable kinds, are found in the highest perfection and greatest abundance.

There are several *African Islands*, some of which lie in the Eastern or Indian Ocean, and some in the Western or Atlantic. *Socatra* is famous for its aloes, which are esteemed the best in the world. If we wish to pay a visit to this island, we must sail round the Cape of Good Hope, to the Arabic gulph, on the eastmost point of Africa, called formerly the Red-Sea,

— Whose waves o'erthrew
Proud Pharaoh, and his Memphian chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen; who beheld,
From the safe shore, their floating carcases,
And broken chariot wheels *.

Madagascar is a very large island, being near 1000 miles long, and 300 broad. It abounds in cattle and corn, and most of the necessaries of life, but there is not sufficient merchandise to induce Europeans to settle colonies.—*Mauritius*, or Maurice, was so called by the Dutch, A. D. 1598. who first touched there, in honour of prince Maurice their Stadtholder; but the French, its present masters, have given it the name of the *Isle of France*.

The first island on this side the Cape is the pleasant *St. Helena*, where the English East-India ships stop to get water and fresh provisions in their way home. Though the island appears on every side a hard barren rock, yet it is agreeably diversified with hills and plains, adorned with plantations of fruit-trees and garden-stuff. *St. Helena* is said to have been first discovered by the Portuguese on the festival of the empress Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine the Great, whose name it still bears. It does not appear that the Portuguese ever planted a colony here; and the English East-India company took possession of it in

* Milton.

1600, and held it without interruption, till the year 1673, when the Dutch took it by surprise. The English, however, recovered it within the space of a year, and at the same time took three Dutch East-India ships that lay in the road. There are about two hundred families in the island, most of whom are descended from English parents.—The *Cape Verd* islands, which belong to the Portuguese, are so called from their verdure. The ancients called them *Hesperides*, or Golden Apples, well known in poetic story.—*Goree* is a small spot, not exceeding two miles in circumference, but its importance arises from its situation for trade so near Cape Verd, and it has been therefore a bone of contention between European nations. It was first possessed by the Dutch, from whom it was taken by the English; but it was retaken by the Dutch, and soon after subdued by the French, A. D. 1759. in whose possession it remained till the British arms were every where triumphant. It was restored to the French at the treaty of peace in 1763. It was retaken by the English in the last war, but again restored at the peace of 1783. The *Canaries*, from whence first came our Canary wine, and those delightful songsters, called *Canary Birds*, are seven in number. The ancients called them the Fortunate Isles, and placed there the Elysian fields. *Teneriffe*, one of the largest of these islands, is very mountainous. The peak is an ascent in the form of a *sugar loaf*, about fifteen miles in circumference, and, according to the account of Sprat bishop of Rochester, published in the Philosophical Transactions, near three miles perpendicular; but lately ascertained to be only 13,265 feet. This mountain is a volcano, and sometimes throws out such quantities of sulphur and melted ore, as to convert the richest lands into barren deserts. These islands were first discovered and planted by the Carthaginians; but the Romans destroying that state, put a stop to the navigation on the west coast of Africa, and the Canaries lay concealed from the rest of the world, till they were discovered by A. D. 1405. the Spaniards, to whom they still belong. The fertile islands of *Madeira*, famous for the best stomachic wine, of which no less than 20,000 hogsheads are yearly exported, belong to the Portuguese. The inhabitants make the best sweet-meats in the world, and succeed wonderfully in preserving citrons and oranges, and in making marmalade and perfumed pastes, which exceed those of Genoa. The sugar they make is extremely beautiful, and smells naturally of violets.

C H A P. CXI.

OF AMERICA IN GENERAL.

Columbus discovers this immense Continent—Extent, Climate, and Soil of America—Opinions concerning the Manner in which it was peopled—Complexion, Understanding, Manners, Customs and Language of the Natives—Of the North-American Aborigines—A singular Occurrence—Practice of putting to Death their infirm Relations.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of Genoa, was the first who undertook to extend the boundaries which ignorance had given to the world. He A. D. 1492. sailed from Spain with a fleet of three ships, upon the most adventurous attempt ever undertaken by man, and in the fate of which the inhabitants of two worlds were interested. After a voyage of thirty-three days, he landed on one of those islands, now called the Bahamas. He afterwards touched on several of the islands in the same cluster, enquiring every where for gold, which was the only object of commerce he thought worth his attention. In steering southward he found the island called Hispaniola, abounding in all the necessaries of life, and inhabited by a humane and hospitable people. Here Columbus was visited by a prince or *cazique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a simple people, being carried in a sort of palanquin upon the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects who served him with great respect. His deportment was grave and stately, very reserved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous. He gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanship, receiving in return presents of small value, but highly acceptable to him *. On his return home, Columbus touched on several islands to the southward, and discovered the Caribbees. He was welcomed in Spain with all the acclamations which the populace are ever ready to give on such occasions, and the court received him with the highest marks of respect. He afterwards sailed on on other discoveries to America; but the ungrateful avaricious Spaniards, not immediately receiving those advantages

* Life of Columbus.

They had promised themselves from his first voyages, at last suffered him to die neglected and disregarded. The court of Spain, however, were so just to his memory, that they buried him magnificently in the cathedral of Seville, and erected a tomb over him with this inscription: "Columbus has given a new world to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon." The wealth which Columbus brought into Europe, tempted many to make equipments at their own expence. In one of these expeditions, Americus Vesputius, a merchant of Florence, sailed to the south continent of America, and, being a man of address, had the honour of giving his name to half the globe. But no one is now imposed on by the name; all the world knows that Columbus was the first discoverer.

This immense continent, frequently called the New World, is of greater extent than either Europe, or Asia, or Africa; the three noted divisions of the ancient continent; and not much inferior in dimensions to a third part of the habitable globe. Its length from the farthest point of New South Wales north, to the Streights of Magellan south, is about eight thousand miles; and its greatest breadth, from the Cape of St. Augustine, on the coast of Brazil east, to the South Sea about Quito, is about three thousand miles. The grandeur of the objects which it presents to view cannot fail to strike the eye of every observer. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains of America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be considered as the base of the Andes, is elevated farther above the sea than the top of the Pyrenees. This stupendous ridge of the Andes, no less remarkable for extent than elevation, rises in different places more than one third above the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest land in the ancient hemisphere. The Andes may literally be said to hide their heads in the clouds; the storms often roll, and the thunder bursts below their summits, which, though exposed to the rays of the sun in the centre of the torrid zone, are covered with everlasting snows. From those lofty mountains descend rivers proportionably large, with which the streams in the ancient continent are not to be compared, either for length of course, or the vast body of water which they roll towards the ocean. The Maragnon, Oronoco, the Plata, in South America, the Mississippi and St. Laurence in North America, flow in such spacious channels, that, long before they feel the in-

fluence of the tide, they resemble arms of the sea rather than rivers of fresh water.

But what most distinguishes America from other parts of the earth, is the peculiar temperature of its climate, and the different laws to which it is subject with respect to the distribution of heat and cold. We cannot determine precisely the portion of heat felt in any part of the globe, merely by measuring its distance from the equator. The climate of a country is affected, in some degree, by its elevation above the sea, by the extent of continent, by the nature of the soil, the height of adjacent mountains, and many other circumstances. The maxims, however, which are founded upon observation of our hemisphere will not apply to the other. The rigour of the frigid zone extends over half of that which should be temperate by its position. Countries where the grape and the fig should ripen, are buried under snow one half of the year; and lands situated in the same parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual frosts, which almost destroy the power of vegetation. While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually shaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercepts the fierce rays of the sun, without obstructing his friendly influence. There is no effect without a cause. In America the land stretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind, in passing over such an extent of high and frozen lands, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates, and is not entirely mitigated until it reaches the Gulph of Mexico. This is the reason why the cold is so intense in many provinces in that part of the globe. Other causes, no less remarkable, diminish the active power of heat in those parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from east to west. As this wind holds its course across the ancient continent, it arrives at the countries which stretch along the western shore of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it hath collected from the sultry plains of Asia, and the burning sands in the African deserts. The coast of Africa is, accordingly, the region of the earth which feels the most fervent heat, and is exposed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this same wind which brings such an accession

cession of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Caffraria, traverses the Atlantic ocean before it reaches the American shore. It is cooled in its passage over this vast body of water, and is felt as a refreshing gale along the coasts of Brazil and Guiana, rendering these countries, though among the warmest in America, temperate, when compared with those which lie opposite to them in Africa. As this wind advances in its course across America, it meets with immense plains, covered with impenetrable forests, or occupied by large rivers, marshes, and stagnating waters, where it can recover no considerable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to south through the whole continent. In passing over their elevated and frozen summits, it is so thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardour to which they seem exposed by their situation. In the other provinces of America, from Terra Firma westward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in some places, by the elevation of the land above the sea; in others, by their extraordinary humidity, and in all by the enormous mountains scattered over this tract. The islands of America in the torrid zone are either small or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreshing sea and land breezes.

The effects of human ingenuity and labour are more extensive and considerable, than even our own vanity is apt to imagine. When we survey the face of the habitable globe, no small part of that fertility and beauty, which we ascribe to the hand of nature, is the work of man. His efforts, when continued through a succession of ages, change the appearance and improve the qualities of the earth, as well as render it more wholesome and friendly to life. All the provinces of America, when first discovered, were found to be remarkably unhealthy. This the Spaniards experienced in every expedition, whether destined for conquest or settlement. The want of cultivation renders the principle of life less active and vigorous. The animals originally belonging to this quarter of the globe appear to be of an inferior race, neither so robust nor so fierce, as those of the other continent. America gives birth to no creature of such bulk as to be compared with the elephant or rhinoceros, or that equals the lion and tyger in strength and ferocity. The Puma and Jaguar, its fiercest beasts of prey, which the Europeans have inaccurately denominated lions and tygers, possess neither the undaunted courage of the former, nor the ravenous cruelty of the latter. They are inactive and

timid, hardly formidable to man, and often turn their back upon the least appearance of resistance *.

The American birds of the torrid zone, like those of the same climate in Asia and Africa, are decked in plumage, which dazzles the eye with the vivid beauty of its colours, but nature, satisfied with clothing them in this gay dress has denied most of them that melody of sound and variety of notes, which catches and delights the ear. The birds of the temperate climates there, in the same manner as in our continent, are less splendid in their appearance, but, in compensation for that defect, have all the power and sweetness of music in their voice. In some districts of America, the unwholesome temperature of the air seems to be unfavourable even to this part of the creation. The number of birds is less than in other countries, and the traveller is struck with the amazing solitude and silence of its forests.

The soil, in a continent so extensive as America, must of course be extremely various; but, if allowance be made for this diversity, it is naturally as rich and fertile as in any part of the earth. As the country was thinly inhabited, and by a people of little industry, who had none of the domestic animals, which civilized nations rear in such vast numbers, the earth was not exhausted by their consumption. The vegetable production to which its fertility gave birth, often remained untouched, and being suffered to corrupt on its surface, returned with increase into its bosom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nourishment from air and water, if they were not destroyed by man and other animals, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoverish it. Thus the unoccupied soil of America might go on enriching for many ages. The vast numbers as well as enormous size of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigour of the soil in its native state. When the Europeans first began to cultivate the new world, they were astonished at the luxuriant power of vegetation in its virgin mould; and in several places the ingenuity of the planter was employed in diminishing and wasting its superfluous fertility, in order to bring it down to a state fit for useful culture.

It has often been asked, "How was America peopled?" "By what course did mankind migrate from the one continent to the other? and in what quarter is it most probable that a communication was opened between them?" We know, with infallible certainty, that all the human race spring from the same source, and that the descendants of one

* Buffon's Natural History.

man under the protection as well as in obedience to the command of Heaven, multiplied and replenished the earth. But neither the annals nor the traditions of nations reach back to those remote ages, in which they took possession of the different countries where they are now settled. We cannot trace the branches of this first family, nor point out with certainty the time and manner in which they divided and spread over the face of the globe. Even among the most enlightened people, the period of authentic history is extremely short, and every thing prior to that is fabulous or obscure. When the people of Europe unexpectedly discovered a new world, removed at a vast distance from every part of the ancient continent which was then known, and filled with inhabitants whose appearance and manners differed remarkably from the rest of the human species, the question concerning their original became naturally an object of curiosity and attention. The theories and speculations, with respect to this subject, would fill many volumes. Some have presumptuously imagined that the people of America were not the offspring of the same common parent with the rest of mankind, but that they formed a separate race of men, distinguishable by peculiar features in the constitution of their bodies, as well as in the characteristic qualities of their minds. Others contend that they are descended from some remnant of the antediluvian inhabitants of the earth, who survived the deluge, which swept away the greatest part of the human species in the days of Noah; and preposterously suppose rude, uncivilized tribes, scattered over an uncultivated continent, to be the most ancient race of people on the earth. There are authors who have endeavoured by mere conjectures to account for the peopling of America. Some have supposed that it was originally united to the ancient continent, and disjoined from it by the shock of an earthquake, or the irruption of a deluge. Others have imagined that some vessel being forced from its course by the violence of a westerly wind, might be driven by accident towards the American coast, and have given a beginning to population in that desolate continent*. But, with respect to all those systems, it is in vain either to reason or enquire, because it is impossible to come to any decision. Such events as they suppose are barely possible, and may have happened. That they ever did happen, we have no evidence, either from the clear testimony of history, or from the obscure intimations of tradition.

From considering the animals with which America is

* Universal History. Parson's Remains of Japhet.

stored, we may conclude that the nearest point of contact between the old and new continents is towards the northern extremity of both, and that there the communication was opened and the intercourse carried on between them. The northern provinces of the new world abound with many of the wild animals, which are common in such parts of our hemisphere as lie in a similar situation. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, and several other species frequent the forests of North America, no less than those in the north of Europe and Asia*. It seems to be evident then, that the two continents approach each other in this quarter, and are either united, or so nearly adjacent, that these animals might pass from the one to the other; and this vicinity has been ascertained by discovery. With regard to the human species, some tribe, or some families of wandering Tartars from the restless spirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the nearest islands, and, rude as their knowledge of navigation was, might, by passing from one to the other, reach at length the coast of America, and give a beginning to population in that continent.

It is likewise evident from recent discoveries, that an intercourse between our continent and America might be carried on with no less facility from the north-west extremities of Europe. As early as the ninth century, the Norwegians discovered Greenland and planted colonies there. The communication with that country, after a long interruption, was renewed in the last century. Some Lutheran and Moravian missionaries, prompted by zeal for propagating the Christian faith, have ventured to settle in this frozen and uncultivated region. To them we are indebted for much curious information with respect to its nature and inhabitants. We learn that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that, at the bottom of the bay into which this strait conducts, it is highly probable that they are united; that the inhabitants of the two countries have some intercourse with one another; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, and mode of living; that some sailors who had acquired the knowledge of a few words in the Greenlandish language, reported that these were understood by the Esquimaux; that, at length, a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Green-

* Buffon.

landers, and were in every respect the same people; and he was accordingly received and entertained by them as a friend and brother*.

The Esquimaux, however, are the only people in America, who, in their aspect or character, bear any resemblance to the northern Europeans. Among all the other inhabitants of America, there is such a striking similitude in the form of their bodies, and the qualities of their minds, that, notwithstanding the diversities occasioned by the influence of climate, or unequal progress in improvement, we must pronounce them to be of *Asiatic extraction*. There may be a variety in the shades, but we can every where trace the same original colour. Each tribe has something peculiar which distinguishes it, but in all of them we discern certain features common to the whole race. It is remarkable that in every peculiarity, which characterizes the Americans, either in their persons or dispositions, they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe. We may therefore conclude that their Asiatic progenitors, having settled in those parts of America, where the Russians discovered the proximity of the two continents, spread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progress of population in America, coincides with the tradition of the Mexicans concerning their own origin, which, imperfect as they are, were preserved with more accuracy, and merit greater credit than those of any people in the new world. According to them, their ancestors came from a remote country, situated to the north-east of Mexico. They point out their various stations as they advance from this, into the interior provinces, and it is precisely the same route which they must have held, if they had been emigrants from Asia. The Mexicans, in describing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners, and habits of life at that period, exactly delineate those of the rude Tartars, from whom they are supposed to have sprung†.

The condition and character of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deserve attentive consideration. It is both pleasing and instructive to contemplate man in the various situations wherein he hath been placed; and to follow him in his progress through the different stages of society, as he gradually advances from the infant state of civil life towards its maturity and decline. When America was first discovered, man appeared under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist. That

* Crantz's History of Greenland. † Dr. Robertson.

state of primæval simplicity, which was known in our continent only by the fanciful descriptions of the poets, really existed in the other. The greater part of its inhabitants were strangers to industry and labour, ignorant of arts, and almost unacquainted with property, enjoying in common the blessings which flow spontaneously from the bounty of nature. Their first appearance filled the discoverers with such astonishment, that they were apt to imagine them a race of men different from those of the other hemisphere. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling that of copper. The hair of their heads is always black, long, coarse, and lank. They have no beard, and every part of their body is perfectly smooth, which seems to indicate a defect of vigour, occasioned by some vice in their frame. This peculiarity cannot be attributed, as some travellers have supposed, to their mode of subsistence. For though the food of many Americans be so extremely insipid, that they are altogether unacquainted with the use of salt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have subsisted on aliments equally simple without this mark of degradation, or any apparent symptom of a diminution in their vigour.

There is less variety in the human form throughout the new world, than in the ancient continent. When Columbus and the other discoverers first visited the different countries in America, which lie within the torrid zone, they naturally expected to find people of the same complexion with those in the corresponding regions of the other hemisphere. To their amazement, however, they discovered that America contained no negroes; and the cause of this singular appearance became as much the object of curiosity as the fact itself was of wonder. In what part or membrane of the body that humour resides which tinges the complexion of the negro with a deep black, it is the business of anatomists to enquire and describe. The powerful operation of heat appears manifestly to be the cause which produces this striking variety in the human species *. All Europe, almost the whole of Asia, and the temperate parts of Africa, are occupied by men of a fair complexion. All the torrid zone in Africa, some of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and a few countries in Asia, are filled with people of a deep black colour. If we trace the nations of our continent, making our progress from cold and temperate countries towards those parts which are exposed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we shall find that the extreme whiteness of their skin soon begins to diminish; that its colour deepens gradually as we advance; and after

• Dr. Robertson.

passing



passing through all the successive gradations of shade, terminates in an uniform unvarying black. But in America, where the agency of heat is checked and abated by various causes, the climate seems to be destitute of that force which produces such wonderful effects on the human frame. The colour of the natives of the torrid zone, in America, can hardly be said to be of a deeper hue than that of the people in the more temperate parts of their continent. Accurate observers, who have had an opportunity of viewing the Americans in very different climates, and in countries far removed from each other, have been struck with the amazing similarity of their figure and aspect.

The exercise of the understanding among rude tribes is very limited. In every civilized nation, arithmetic, or the art of numbering, is deemed an essential and elementary science; and in our continent, the invention and use of it reaches back to a period so remote as is beyond the knowledge of history. But among savages, who have no property to estimate, no hoarded treasures to count, no variety of objects or multiplicity of ideas to enumerate, arithmetic is a superfluous and useless art. Accordingly, among some tribes in America, it seems to be quite unknown. There are many who cannot reckon farther than three; and have no denomination to distinguish any number above it. Several can proceed as far as ten, others to twenty. When they would convey an idea of any number beyond these, they point to the hairs of their head, intimating that it is equal to them, or with wonder declare it to be so great that it cannot be reckoned. Not only the Americans, but all nations, while extremely rude, seem to be unacquainted with the art of computation. As soon, however, as they acquire such acquaintance or connection with a variety of objects, that there is frequent occasion to combine or divide them, their knowledge of numbers increases; so that the state of this art among any people may be considered as one standard by which to estimate the degree of their improvement. The Iroquois, in North America, as they are much more civilized than the rude inhabitants of Brazil, Paraguay, or Guiana, have likewise made greater advances in this respect; though even their arithmetic does not extend beyond a thousand, as in their petty transactions they have no occasion for any higher number. The Cherokees, a less considerable nation on the same continent, can only reckon as far as a hundred, and to that extent have names for the several numbers. The smaller tribes in their neighbourhood can rise no higher than ten*.

* Adair's History of American Indians.

A general state of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes never existed but in the imagination of poets. Accordingly, in America, even amongst the rudest tribes, a regular union between husband and wife is universal; and the rights of marriage are understood and recognized. In some countries the marriage union subsists during life; in others, the impatience of the Americans under restraint of any species, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompt them to dissolve it on very slight pretexts, and often without assigning any cause. Some of them marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood. Among some tribes the ceremony is performed in the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a cane or reed, with which he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding-guests, sticks his reed into the ground. His bride comes forth soon after with another reed, which she sticks by the side of his; and then they are married. They afterwards exchange reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, usually celebrated by feasting, music and dancing. Each of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contribute something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in the same day. The principal accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter. Polygamy in its utmost latitude is allowed by some tribes. Every man takes as many wives as he chooses; but the first is queen, and the others her handmaids and associates. With regard to property, it has been asserted by some authors, who have written concerning the customs of the aborigines of America, that they have all things in common. This, however, is not the case. An Indian town is generally so situated, as to be convenient for procuring game, and secure from sudden invasion, having a large district of arable ground in its vicinity, and, if possible, on an island

betwixt two waters, or where the doubling of a river forms a peninsula. Such a situation generally comprehends a sufficient quantity of excellent land for planting corn, potatoes, beans, squash, pumpkins, melons, and the like. At other times, however, they choose such a convenient fertile spot at a little distance from their town, when circumstances will not admit of having both together. This is their common plantation, and the whole town plant in one vast field together; but the share of every family is separated from the adjoining one by a narrow strip of grass, or any other natural or artificial boundary. In the spring, after the ground is prepared on one and the same day, early in the morning, the whole town is summoned, by the sound of a shell from the mouth of the overseer, to meet at the public square, whither the people repair with their hoes and axes; and from thence proceed to their plantation, where they continue planting till the whole is finished. When their rising crops are ready for dressing and cleansing, they go on in the same order day after day, until the crop is laid by for ripening. After all the grain is ripe, the whole town again assembles, and every man carries off the fruits of his labour, from the part first allotted to him, which he deposits in his own granary as his property. But previous to their carrying off their crops from the field, there is a large crib or granary erected in the plantation, which is called the king's crib, and in this each family deposits a certain quantity, according to his ability or inclination. Though this might appear to be a revenue for the king, it is in fact designed for another purpose, namely, that of a public storehouse, to which every citizen has the right of free and equal access; when his own private stores are consumed; to serve as a surplus to flee to for succour; to assist neighbouring towns whose crops may have failed; to accommodate strangers, or travellers; to afford provisions or supplies, when they go forth on hostile expeditions; and for all other exigencies of the state. As to mechanic arts or manufactures, they have scarcely any thing worth observation, since they are supplied with necessities, conveniences and even superfluities, by the white traders. The men do nothing but erect their mean habitations, form their canoes, and some other trifling matters; for war and hunting are their principal employments; the women are more active, and turn their attention to various manual employments; they make all their earthen-ware, spin and weave curious belts and diadems for the men, and embroider and decorate their apparel.

The North-American aborigines are not idolaters, unless puffing the tobacco-smoke towards the sun, and rejoicing

at the appearance of the new-moon, may be termed so. They adore the *Great Spirit*, the giver and taker away of the breath of life, with the most profound and respectful homage. They believe in a future state, which they call the world of spirits, where they enjoy different degrees of tranquillity or comfort, according to their behaviour here. A person, who in his lifetime, has been an industrious hunter, an intrepid and active warrior, just and upright, has provided well for his family, and done all the good he could, will, they say, in the world of spirits, live in a warm, pleasant country, where there are green, flowery, expansive savannas and high forests, watered with limpid streams, replenished with deer, and every species of game; a serene, unclouded and peaceful sky; in short, where there is fulness of pleasure, uninterrupted. They have many accounts of trances and visions of their people, who have been supposed to be dead, but afterwards reviving, have related their visions, which tend to enforce the practice of virtue and the moral duties.

As an instance of their ideas of political impartial justice, and homage to the Supreme Being, as the high arbiter of human transactions, who alone claims the right of taking away the life of man, the following event, as a late traveller * had it from the mouth of a Spaniard, a respectable inhabitant of East-Florida, is very remarkable. The son of the Spanish governor of St. Augustine, together with two young gentlemen, his friends and associates, conceived a design of amusing themselves in a party of sport at hunting and fishing. Having provided themselves with a convenient bark, ammunition, and fishing-tackle, they set sail, directing their course south, along the coast, towards the point of Florida, putting into bays and rivers, as convenience and the prospect of game invited them. The pleasing rural and diversified scenes of the Florida coast, imperceptibly allured them far to the south, beyond the Spanish fortified posts. Unfortunate youths! regardless of the advice and injunctions of their parents and friends, still pursuing the delusive objects, they entered a harbour at evening with a view of chasing the roe-buck and hunting the sturdy bear, solacing themselves with delicious fruits, and reposing under aromatic shades, when, alas! cruel unexpected event! in the beatific moments of their slumbers, they were surrounded, and carried off by a band of Creek Indians, proud of the capture of so rich a prize. At that time the Indians were at furious war with the Spaniards,

* M. Bartram.

and no bounds were set to their cruelties on either side. In short, the miserable youths were condemned to be burnt. But there were English traders in these towns, who, learning the character of the captives, and expecting large rewards from the Spanish governor, if they could deliver them, petitioned the Indians on their behalf, and offered a great ransom; acquainting them at the same time that they were young men of high rank, and one of them the governor's son. Upon this, the chiefs convened, and, after solemn and mature deliberation, returned the traders their final answer and determination, which was as follows: "Brothers and friends, we have been considering upon this business concerning the captives,—and that, under the eye and fear of the *Great-Spirit*. You know that these people are our cruel enemies; they save no lives of us red-men, who come into their power. You say that the youth is the son of the Spanish governor. We believe it; we are sorry he has fallen into our hands; but he is our enemy. The two young men, his friends, are equally our enemies. We are sorry to see them here; but we know no difference in their flesh and blood. If we save one we must save all; but we cannot do it. The red-men require their blood to appease the spirits of their slain relatives. They have entrusted us with the guardianship of our laws and rights, and we cannot betray them. We, however, have a sacred prescription respecting this affair, which allows us to extend mercy to a certain degree. One may be saved by lot; the *Great-Spirit* allows us to put it to that decision; he is no respecter of persons." The lots were cast; but the governor's son was not so lucky as to escape; he and one of his companions were taken and burnt.

If we consider them with respect to their private character, they must claim our approbation. As moral men they certainly stand in no need of European civilization. They are just, honest, liberal, and hospitable to strangers; considerate, loving, and affectionate to their wives and relations; fond of their children; industrious, frugal, temperate, and persevering; charitable and forbearing. The first and most cogent article in all their treaties with the white-people, is, that there shall not be any kind of spirituous liquors brought into their towns; and the traders are allowed but two kegs of five gallons each, to serve them on the road. If any of this remains on their approaching the towns, they must spill it on the ground. Two young traders were lately surprised on the road in the evening,
just

just after they had come to camp, by a party of Creeks, who discovering that they had several kegs of Jamaica spirits, immediately struck their tomahawks into every keg, giving the liquor to the thirsty sand, but not tasting a drop of it themselves; and the traders had enough to do to keep the tomahawks from their own skulls. "I saw a young Indian," says Mr. Bartram, "who, beholding the scenes of mad intemperance and folly acted by the white-men in the town, clapped his hand to his breast, and with a smile looked aloft as if struck with astonishment, and wrapt in love and adoration to the Deity, whilst he thus exclaimed, *O thou great and good Spirit! we are indeed sensible of thy benignity and favour to us red-men, in denying us the understanding of white-men. We did not know before they came amongst us that mankind could become so base, and fall so much below the dignity of their nature. Defend us from their manners, laws, and power.*" How are we to account for their excellent policy and civil government? It cannot derive its influence from coercive laws, for they have no such artificial system; divine wisdom dictates, and they obey.

As to *language*, the Cherokee tongue is very loud, somewhat rough and very sonorous, sounding the letter R frequently, yet very agreeable and pleasant to the ear. All the Indian languages are truly rhetorical or figurative, assisting the speech by tropes; their hands, flexure of the head, the brow, in short, every member, naturally associate, and lend their aid to render their harangues eloquent, persuasive, and effectual.

To enumerate all the detached customs, which have excited the wonder of travellers in America, would be an endless task; one however is so singular that it must not be omitted. When their parents and other relations become old, or labour under any distemper which their slender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, they cut short their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burden of supporting and attending them. This practice prevailed among the ruder tribes in every part of the continent, from Hudson's Bay to the river de la Plata; and however shocking it may be to those sentiments of tenderness and attachment, which, in civilized life, we are apt to consider as congenial with our frame, the condition of man in the savage state leads and reconciles him to it. The same hardships and difficulty of procuring subsistence, which deter savages, in some cases, from rearing their children, prompt them to destroy the aged and infirm. The declining state of the one is as helpless as the infancy of the other.

other. The former are no less unable than the latter to perform the functions that belong to a warrior or hunter, or to endure those various distresses in which savages are so often involved, by their own want of foresight and industry. Their relations feel this; and, incapable of attending to the wants or weaknesses of others, their impatience under an additional burden prompts them to extinguish that life which they find it difficult to sustain. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An American, says a philosophical historian*, broken with years and infirmities, conscious that he can no longer depend on the aid of those around him, places himself contentedly in his grave; and it is by the hands of his children or nearest relations that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releases him for ever from the sorrows of life. A late traveller†, however, was assured by the traders, that, among the North-American aborigines, they knew no instance of such barbarism, with regard to persons so nearly related; but that sometimes the community performed such a deed at the earnest request of the victim.

CHAP. XII.

EMPIRES OF MEXICO AND PERU.

Conquest of Mexico by Cortez.—Magno Capat, founder of the Peruvian Empire.—Pizarro's expedition to Peru.—The Inca Atabalipa is put to death.—Almagro is defeated, imprisoned, and beheaded.—Pizarro divides Peru among his followers.—Remarkable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro.—The celebrated Orellana.—Pizarro is assassinated, and young Almagro acknowledged as his successor.—The celebrated Pedro de la Gasca.—Gonzalo Pizarro defeated and executed.—Remarks.

THE governors of Cuba and Hispaniola, who succeeded Columbus, endeavoured to purchase the same advantages by the blood of the natives, which he had obtained by his good sense and humanity. These islands contained mines of gold. The Indians only knew where they were situated; and the extreme avarice of the Spaniard, too furious to work by the gentle means of per-

* Dr. Robertson.

† M. Bartram.

suasion, hurried them to acts of the most shocking violence and cruelty against those unhappy men, who, they believed, concealed from them part of their treasure. The slaughter once begun, they set no bounds to their fury; in a few years they depopulated Hispaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants; and Cuba, that had about six hundred thousand. An eye witness * of those barbarous depopulations says, that the Spaniards went out with their dogs to hunt them. The unhappy savages, almost naked and unarmed, were pursued like deer in the forests, devoured by dogs, killed by gun-shot, or surprized and burnt in their habitations. The Spaniards had hitherto only visited the continent; from what they saw with their eyes, or learned by report, they conjectured that this part of the new world would afford a still more valuable conquest. Fernando Cortez was dispatched from Cuba with six hundred men, eighteen horses, and a small number of field-pieces. With this inconsiderable force he proposed to subdue the most powerful state on the continent of America; this was the empire of Mexico; rich, extensive, and inhabited by millions of Indians, passionately fond of war, and then headed by Montezuma, whose fame in arms struck terror into the neighbouring nations. Never history, to be true, was more improbable and romantic than that of this war. The empire of Mexico it is said had subsisted for ages: its inhabitants were not rude and barbarous; every thing announced a polished and intelligent people. They knew, like the Egyptians of old, that the year consisted nearly of 365 days. Their superiority in military affairs was the object of admiration and terror over all the continent; and their government, founded on the sure basis of laws combined with religion, seemed to bid defiance to time itself. Mexico, the capital of the empire, situated in the middle of a spacious lake, was the noblest monument of American industry: it communicated with the continent by immense causeways, which were carried through the lake. The city was admired for its buildings, all of stone, its squares and market-places, the shops which glittered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous palaces of Montezuma, some erected on columns of jasper, and containing whatever was most rare, curious, or useful. But all the grandeur of his empire could not defend it against the Spaniards. Cortez, in his march, met with feeble opposition from the nations along the coast of Mexico, who were terrified at their first appearance. The warlike animals on which the Spanish officers were

* Bartholemew de la Casas.

mounted, the artificial thunder which issued from their hands, the wooden castles which had wafted them over the ocean, struck a panic into the natives, from which they did not recover till it was too late. Wherever the Spaniards marched they spared no age or sex, nothing sacred or profane. At last the inhabitants of Kascala, and some of the states on the coast, despairing of being able to oppose them, entered into their alliance, and joined armies with those terrible, and, as they believed, invincible conquerors.—Cortez, thus reinforced, marched onward to Mexico; and in his progress discovered a volcano of sulphur and saltpetre, whence he could supply himself with powder. Montezuma heard of his progress, without daring to oppose it. This sovereign is reported by the boasting Spaniards to have commanded thirty vassals, of whom each could appear at the head of one hundred thousand combatants, armed with bows and arrows, and yet he durst not resist a handful of Spaniards, aided by a few Americans, whose allegiance would be shaken by the first reverse of fortune. Such was the difference between the inhabitants of the two worlds; and such the effect of the Spanish victories, the fame of which always marched before them.

By sending a rich present of gold which only whetted the Spanish avarice, Montezuma hastened the approach of the enemy. No opposition is made to their entry into his capital. A palace is set apart for Cortez and his companions, who are already treated as the masters of the new world. He had good reason, however, to distrust the affected politeness of this emperor, under which he suspected some plot for his destruction was concealed; but he had no pretence for violence; Montezuma loaded him with kindness, and with gold in greater quantities than he demanded, and his palace was surrounded with artillery, the most frightful of all engines to the Americans. At last a circumstance fell out which afforded Cortez a pretext for beginning hostilities. In order to secure a communication, to receive the necessary reinforcements, he had erected a fort, and left a small garrison behind him at Vera Cruz, which has since become an emporium of commerce between Europe and America. He understood that the Americans in the neighbourhood had attacked this garrison in his absence, and that a Spaniard was killed in the action; that Montezuma himself was privy to this violence, and had issued orders that the head of the slain Spaniard should be carried through his provinces, to destroy a belief, which then prevailed among them, that the Europeans were immortal. Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortez went in

person to the emperor, attended by a few of his most experienced officers. Montezuma pleaded innocence, and Cortez seemed extremely ready to believe him; though at the same time he alledged that the Spaniards in general would never be persuaded of it, unless he returned along with them to their residence, which would remove all jealousy between the two nations. The success of this interview shewed the superiority of the European address. A powerful monarch, in the midst of his own palace, and surrounded by his guards, gave himself up a prisoner to be disposed of according to the will of a few gentlemen who came to demand him. Cortez had now got into his hands an engine, by which every thing might be accomplished. The Americans had the highest respect, or rather superstitious veneration for their emperor. Cortez, therefore, by keeping him in his power, allowing him to enjoy every mark of royalty but his freedom, and at the same time, from a thorough knowledge of his character, being able to flatter all his tastes and passions, maintained the easy sovereignty of Mexico, by governing its prince. Did the Mexicans, grown familiar with the Spaniards, begin to abate of their respect? Montezuma was the first to teach them more deference. Was there a tumult excited through the cruelty or avarice of the Spaniards? Montezuma ascended the battlements of his prison, and harangued his Mexicans into order and submission. This farce continued a long time: but, on one occasion, when Montezuma was shamefully disgracing his character by justifying the enemies of his country, a stone, from an unknown hand, struck him on the temple, which in a few days occasioned his death. The Mexicans, now delivered from this emperor, who co-operated so strongly with the Spaniards, elected a new prince, the famous *Guatimozin*, who from the beginning discovered an implacable animosity against the Spanish name. Under his conduct the unhappy Mexicans rushed against those very men, whom a little before they had offered to worship. The Spaniards, however, by the dexterous management of Cortez, were too firmly established to be expelled from Mexico. The immense tribute which the grandees of this country had agreed to pay to the crown of Spain, amounted to 600,000 marks of pure gold, besides an amazing quantity of precious stones, a fifth part of which being distributed among the soldiers, stimulated their avarice and their courage, and made them willing to perish, rather than part with so precious a booty. The Mexicans, however, made no small efforts for independence; but all their valour, and despair itself, gave way before

Empire of Peru.

before what they called the Spanish thunder. Guatimozin and the empress were taken prisoners. This was the prince who (when he lay stretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the king of Spain's exchequer, who inflicted the torture to make him discover in what part of the lake he had thrown his riches) said to his high-priest, condemned to the same punishment, and who loudly expressed his sense of the pains that he endured, "Do you take me to lie on a bed of roses?" The high-priest remained silent, and died in an act of obedience to his sovereign. Cortez, by getting a second emperor into his hand, made a complete conquest of Mexico; together with which the Castile *D'Or*, *Darien*, and other provinces fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

While Cortez and his soldiers were employed in reducing Mexico, they got intelligence of another great empire, situated towards the equinoctial line, and the tropic of Capricorn, which was said to abound in gold and silver, and precious stones, and to be governed by a prince more magnificent than Montezuma. This was the empire of Peru, which extended in length near thirty degrees, and was the only other country in America which deserved the name of a civilized kingdom. Whether it happened that the Spanish government had not received certain intelligence concerning Peru, or that, being engaged in a multiplicity of other concerns, they did not chuse to adventure on new enterprizes; certain it is, that this extensive country, more important than Mexico itself, was reduced by the endeavours, and at the expence of three private persons. The names of these were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Lucques, a wealthy and artful priest. The two former were natives of Panama, men of doubtful birth, and of low education. Pizarro, the soul of the enterprize, could neither read nor write. They sailed over into Spain, and without difficulty obtained a grant of what they should conquer. Pizarro then set out for the conquest of Peru, with two hundred and fifty foot, sixty horse, and twelve small pieces of cannon, drawn by slaves from the conquered countries. If we reflect that the Peruvians naturally entertained the same prejudices with the Mexicans, in favour of the Spanish nations, and were beside of a character still more soft and unwarlike, it need not surprise us, after what has been said of the conquest of Mexico, that, with this inconsiderable force, Pizarro should make a deep impression on the Peruvian empire. There were particular circumstances likewise, which conspired to assist him, and which, as they discover somewhat of the history, religion,

and state of the human mind in this immense continent, it may not be improper to relate.

Mango Capac was the founder of the Peruvian empire. He was one of those uncommon men who, calm and dispassionate themselves, can observe the passions of their fellow-creatures, and turn them to their own profit or glory. He observed that the people of Peru were naturally superstitious, and had a particular veneration for the sun. He pretended, therefore, to be descended from that luminary, whose worship he was sent to establish, and whose authority he was entitled to bear. By this story, romantic as it appears, he easily deceived a credulous people, and brought a large extent of territory under his jurisdiction; a larger still he subdued by his arms; but both the force and the deceit he employed for the most laudable purposes. He united and civilized the distressed and barbarous people; he bent them to laws and arts; he softened them by the institution of a benevolent religion; in short, there was no part of America where agriculture and the arts were so assiduously cultivated, and where the people were of such mild and ingenuous manners. A race of princes succeeded Mango, distinguished by the title of Yncas, and revered by the people as descendants of their great God, the Sun. The twelfth of these was now on the throne, and named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac, had conquered the province of Quito, which now makes a part of Spanish Peru. To secure himself in the possession, he had married the daughter of the natural prince of that country; and of this marriage was sprung Atabalipa. His elder brother, named Huescar, of a different mother, had claimed the succession to the whole of his father's dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on the other by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account, which, after various turns of fortune, and greatly weakening the kingdom, ended in favour of Atabalipa, who detained Huescar, as a prisoner in the tower of Cusco, the capital of the Peruvian empire. In this feeble and disjointed state was the kingdom of Peru when Pizarro advanced towards it. The ominous predictions of religion too, as in most other cases, joined their force to human calamities. Prophecies were recorded, dreams were recollected, which foretold the subjection of the empire by unknown persons, whose description was supposed to correspond to the appearance of the Spaniards. In these circumstances, Atabalipa, instead of opposing the Spaniards, set himself to procure their favour. Pizarro, however, whose temper partook of the meanness of his education, had

had no conception of dealing gently with those he called barbarians; but who, however, though less acquainted with the cruel art of destroying their fellow-creatures, were more civilized than himself. While he was engaged in conference, therefore, with Atabalipa, his men, as they had been previously instructed, furiously attacked the guards of that prince, and having butchered 5000 of them, as they were pressing forward, without regard to their particular safety, to defend the sacred person of their monarch, seized Atabalipa himself, whom they carried off to the Spanish quarters. Pizarro, with the sovereign in his hands, might already be deemed the master of Peru; for the inhabitants of this country were as strongly attached to their emperor, as the Mexicans themselves. Atabalipa was not long in their hands before he began to treat of his ransom. On this occasion the ancient ornaments amassed by a long line of magnificent kings, the hallowed treasures of the most magnificent temples were brought out to save him, who was the support of the kingdom and of the religion. While Pizarro was engaged in this negotiation, by which he proposed, without releasing the emperor, to get into his possession an immense quantity of his beloved gold, the arrival of Almagro caused some embarrassment in his affairs. The friendship, or rather the external shew of friendship, between these men, was solely founded on the principle of avarice, and a bold enterprising spirit, to which nothing appeared too dangerous that might gratify their ruling passion. When their interests, therefore, happened to interfere, it was not to be thought that any measures could be kept between them. Pizarro expected to enjoy the most considerable share of the treasure arising from the emperor's ransom, because he had the chief merit in acquiring it. Almagro insisted on being upon an equal footing; and, at length, lest the common cause might suffer by any rupture between them, this disposition was agreed to. The ransom was paid without delay, a sum exceeding their conception, but not sufficient to gratify their avarice. It amounted to 1,500,000*l.* sterling; and, considering the value of money at that time, was prodigious; on the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the king of Spain, and the shares of the chief commanders and officers, each private soldier had above 2000*l.* English money. With such fortunes, it was not to be expected that a mercenary army would patiently submit to the rigours of military discipline. They insisted on being disbanded, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labour in quiet. Pizarro complied with this demand; sensible that avarice would still de-

tain many in his family, and that those who returned with such magnificent fortunes, would induce new adventurers to pursue the same road to wealth. These wise reflections were abundantly verified; it was impossible to send out better recruiting officers than those who had themselves so much profited by the field; new soldiers constantly arrived, and the American armies never wanted reinforcement.

This immense ransom was only a farther reason for detaining Atabalipa in confinement, until they discovered whether he had another treasure to gratify their avarice. But whether they believed he had no more to give, and were unwilling to employ their troops in guarding a prince, from whom they expected no farther advantage, or that Pizarro had conceived an aversion against the Peruvian emperor, on account of some instances of craft and duplicity which he observed in his character, and which he conceived might prove dangerous to his affairs, it is certain, that by his command Atabalipa was put to death. To justify this cruel proceeding, a sham charge was exhibited against the unhappy prince, in which he was accused of idolatry, of having many concubines, and other circumstances equally impertinent. The only just ground of accusation against him was, that his brother Huescar had been put to death by his command; and even this was considerably palliated, because Huescar had been plotting his destruction, that he might establish himself on the throne. Upon the death of the Ynea, a number of candidates appeared for the throne. The principal nobility set up the full brother of Huescar; Pizarro set up a son of Atabalipa; and two generals of the Peruvians endeavoured to establish themselves by the assistance of the army. These distractions, which in another empire would have been extremely hurtful, and even here at another time, were at present rather advantageous to the Peruvian affairs. The candidates fought against each other; their battles accustomed these harmless people to blood; and such is the preference of a spirit of any kind raised in a nation to a total lethargy, that in the course of those quarrels among themselves, the inhabitants of Peru assumed some courage against the Spaniards, whom they regarded as the ultimate cause of all their calamities. The losses which the Spaniards met with in these quarrels, though inconsiderable in themselves, were rendered dangerous, by lessening the opinion of their invincibility, which they were careful to preserve among the inhabitants of the new world. This consideration engaged Pizarro to conclude a truce; and this interval he employed in laying the foundations of the famous city of Lima, and
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in settling the Spaniards in the country. But, as soon as a favourable opportunity offered, he renewed the war against the Indians, and after many difficulties made himself master of Cusco, the capital of the empire. While he was engaged in these conquests, new grants and supplies arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained two hundred leagues along the sea-coast, to the southward of what had been before granted, and Almagro two hundred leagues to the southward of Pizarro's government. This division occasioned a warm dispute between them, each reckoning Cusco within his own district. But the dexterity of Pizarro brought about a reconciliation. He persuaded his rival, that though the country which really belonged to him, lay to the southward of Cusco, it was equally rich and fertile, and might be as easily conquered as Peru. He offered him his assistance in the expedition, the success of which he did not even call in question.

Almagro, that he might have the honour of subduing a kingdom for himself, listened to his advice; and joining as many of Pizarro's troops to his own as he judged necessary, penetrated, with great danger and difficulty, into Chili; losing many of his men as he passed over mountains of an immense height, and always covered with snow. He reduced, however, a very considerable part of this country. But the Peruvians were now become too much acquainted with war, not to take advantage of the division of the Spanish troops. They made an effort for regaining their capital, in which, Pizarro being indisposed, and Almagro removed at a great distance, they were well nigh successful. The latter, however, no sooner got notice of the siege of Cusco, than, relinquishing all views of distant conquests, he returned, to secure the grand object of his former labours. He raised the siege with infinite slaughter of the assailants; but having obtained possession of this city, he was unwilling to give it up to Pizarro, who now approached with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians. This dispute occasioned a long and bloody struggle between them, in which the turns of fortune were various, and the resentment fierce on both sides, because the fate of the vanquished was certain death. This was the lot of Almagro, who, in an advanced age, fell a victim to the security of a rival, in whose dangers and triumphs he had long shared, and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprize, he had been intimately connected. During the course of this civil war, many Peruvians served in the Spanish armies, and learned, from the practice of Christians, to butcher one another. That blinded nation, how-

ever, at length opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable resolution. They saw the ferocity of the Europeans, their unextinguishable resentment and avarice, and they conjectured that these passions would never permit their contests to subside. Let us retire, said they, from among them; let us fly to our mountains, they will speedily destroy each other, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations. The resolution was instantly put in practice; the Peruvians dispersed, and left the Spaniards in their capital. Had the force on each side been exactly equal, this singular policy of the natives of Peru might have been attended with success. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to the hopes of the Peruvians.

On the decisive day, the conflict was maintained by each party with equal courage; but unfortunately for Almagro, he was so worn out with the fatigues of the service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that at the *crisis of his fate*, he could not exert his wonted activity. He was, therefore, obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendant either over the spirit or affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere. On the side of Almagro were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry, but these were overbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the insurrection of the Indians, the emperor had sent from Spain. As the use of fire arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America, hastily equipped for service, at their own expence, this small band of soldiers, regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-sustained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the rout became general. The barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; the meanness of private revenge instigated others to single out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and several officers of distinction were massacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty soldiers fell in the field; a large proportion where the number of combatants was few, and the heat of the contest soon over. Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, had

insisted

insisted on being carried on a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a veteran leader, long accustomed to victory. He endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the greatest vigilance.

Cusco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompence which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders, who undertook any of these new expeditions, volunteers resorted with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

Almagro himself remained for several months in custody under all the anguish of suspense. For, although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence constrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as several of their own followers, in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cusco. As soon as they set out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. The sentence astonished him, and though he had often braved death with an undaunted spirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications, unworthy of his former fame. He besought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the success and prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remon-

remonstrances of his own most attached friends; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to suffer him to pass the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with heaven. "The in-treaties," says a Spanish historian, "of a man so much beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a hard eye *." But the brothers remained unflexible. As soon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in prison, and afterwards publickly beheaded. He suffered in the seventy-fifth year of his age and left one son by an Indian woman

A. D. 1539. of Panama, whom, though at that time a prisoner in Lima, he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

Bred, like Pizarro, in the camp, Almagro yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the new world. But in Almagro these virtues were accompanied with the openness and candour natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purposes, and with sagacity to penetrate into those of other men.

During the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended. On this account, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendor, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was the most criminal, clearly discovered the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the

* Zarate.

arms which should have been turned against the common enemy, in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease, and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which their disunion presented to them, and extirpate both the *visitors* and the vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information that had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing, therefore, remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and enquiring upon the spot, into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form, which he deemed most conducive to the interests of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmness justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against the appearance of giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro was dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison where he remained above twenty years.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor considering himself, upon the A. D. 1540. death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with

with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow, was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction not with the equity and candour of a judge, attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, all who were disappointed in their expectations, exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which extended their knowledge of the country, as well as added to their power. Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion there. But of all the enterprizes undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers

thers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, near one half of whom were horsemen, with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robust and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their cloaths. The vast plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes of the new world, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seemed more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the largest rivers, whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, both in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed slowly, and with difficulty by land.

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent, and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Maragnon, until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service
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which they expected from the bark; his crime is in some measure balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the South, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlements in the island Cubagua, from whence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the new world; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty, that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event that led to any certain knowledge of those immense regions that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important
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command, could be so base and so unfeeling as to desert him at such a juncture. But, imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly. Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards perished in this wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were on board the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than men.

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him, than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests, which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who served under the elder Almagro, devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial

martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him at their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement, they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty rendered their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends.—“Be in no pain,” said he carelessly, “about my life, it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment put him to death who dares to harbour a thought against it.” This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro’s education, took the lead in their consultations, with all the zeal which that connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of June, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in sultry climates, A. D. 1541. mates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro’s house in complete armour; and drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor’s palace, cried out, “Long live the king, but let the tyrant die.” Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of

of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was just risen from table, and most of his domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the staircase before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the staircase, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going. Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to fly; a few drawing their swords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. "Courage," cried he, "companions, we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead as his brother's feet; his other defendants were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could hardly wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground, and expired.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro, in solemn procession, through the city, and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the soldiers, who had the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The boldness and success of the conspiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many soldiers to his standard. Every adventurer of desperate fortune, all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro, (and from the rapaciousness of his government, in the latter years of his life, the number of malcontents was considerable,) declared without hesitation in favour of Almagro; and he was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the command of them himself, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro speedily collected such a respectable force, the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous assassination of a man to whom his country was so highly indebted, filled every impartial person with horror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretensions, led others to consider him as an usurper. The officers, who commanded in some provinces, refused to recognize his authority, until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cusco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Those seeds of discord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired greater vigour and activity when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was known. After a long and disastrous voyage, he was driven by stress of weather into a small harbour in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no less tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commission appointing him governor of Peru, with the same privileges and authority; and his jurisdiction was acknowledged without hesitation by Benalcazar Adelantado, a lieutenant general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but shewed that he possessed the talents which the exercise of it at that juncture required. By his influence and address he soon assembled such a body of troops, as not only set him above all fear of being exposed to any insult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By dispatching persons of confidence to the different settlements in Peru, with a
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formal notification of his arrival and of his commission he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleasure with respect to the government of the country. By private emissaries, he excited such officers as had discovered their disapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifest their duty to their sovereign by supporting the person honoured with his commission. Those measures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering finding it necessary to choose a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the safest as well as the most just.

Almagro observed the rapid progress of this spirit of disaffection to his cause, and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cusco, where the most considerable body of opponents had erected the royal standard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin.—During his march thither, Harrada, the skilful guide of his youth and of his counsels, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for their violence, but concerted with little sagacity, and executed with no address. Holguin, with forces far inferior to those of the opposite party, was descending towards the coast at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cusco. By a very simple stratagem he deceived his unexperienced adversary, avoided an engagement, and affected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the first to declare against Almagro as an usurper.

Soon after Vaca de Castro entered the camp with the troops which he brought from Quito, and erecting the royal standard before his own tent, he declared, that, as governor, he would discharge in person all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenour of his past life to the habits of a sedentary and pacific profession, he at once assumed the activity and discovered the decision of an officer long accustomed to command. Knowing his strength to be now far superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the contest by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of decision. They met at Chupas, about two hundred miles from Cusco, and fought with all the fierce animosity inspired by

the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at last for Vaca de Castro. The superior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer, formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro, with a gallant spirit, worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquished, especially such as were conscious that they might be charged with being accessory to the assassination of Pizarro, rushing on the swords of the enemy, chose to fall like soldiers, rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater.

If the military talents displayed by Vaca de Castro, both in the council and in the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more astonished at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid dispenser of justice, and persuaded that it required examples of extraordinary severity to restrain the licentious spirit of soldiers so far removed from the seat of government, he proceeded directly to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer the death of traitors; others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, being betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly beheaded in Cusco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the spirit of the party, was extinct.

Though a tranquillity, unknown, since the arrival of the Spaniards, was now restored to Peru, De Castro, it seems, was not sufficiently skilled in gaining the favour of the Spanish ministry by proper bribes or promises, which in that age a ministry would expect from the governor of so rich a country. A council, therefore, was sent over to controul De Castro, and the colony was again unsettled. The parties, but just extinguished, began to blaze anew; and Gonzalo, the brother of the famous Pizarro, set himself at the head of his brother's partisans, with whom many new malcontents had united. It was now no longer a dispute between governors about the bounds of their jurisdiction, Gonzalo Pizarro only paid a nominal submission to the king. He strengthened daily; and even went so far as to behead a governor who was
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sent over to curb him. He gained the confidence of the admiral of the Spanish fleet, in the South Seas, by whose means he proposed to hinder the landing of any troops from Spain; and he had a view of uniting the inhabitants of Mexico in his revolt.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the court of Spain, sensible of their mistake in not sending into America men whose character and virtue only, and not importunity and cabal, pleaded in their behalf, dispatched with unlimited powers, Pedro de la Gasca, a man differing only from Castro by being of a more mild and insinuating behaviour, but with the same love of justice, the same greatness of soul, and the same disinterested spirit. All those who had not joined in Pizarro's revolt flocked to his standard; many of his friends, charmed with the behaviour of Gasca, forsook their old connections; the admiral was gained over by insinuation to return to his duty; and Pizarro himself was offered a full indemnity, provided he should return to the allegiance of the Spanish crown. But so intoxicating are the ideas of royalty, that Pizarro was inclined to run every hazard rather than submit to an officer of Spain. With those of his partisans, therefore, who still continued to adhere to his interest, he determined to venture a battle; but when both armies were just ready to engage, one of his leading men put spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to Gasca. Other officers of note followed his example. The revolt of persons of such high rank struck all with amazement. The mutual confidence, on which the union and strength of armies depend, ceased at once. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank. Some silently slipped away, others threw down their arms, the greatest number went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and Carjaval, his principal officer, a man of great military talents, employed authority, threats, and entreaties to stop them, but in vain. In less than half an hour, a body of men which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro, seeing all irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with such a reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame, he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers. Carjaval, who had made the disposition of the troops with a discerning eye, and a profound knowledge in the art of war, endeavouring to escape,

was overtaken and seized. Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro,

A. D. 1548. Carjaval, and a small number of the most distinguished or notorious offenders were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he surrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. Thus the brother of him, who conquered Peru for the crown of Spain, fell a sacrifice to the security of the Spanish dominion over that country. The end of Carjaval was suitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the sentence, adjudging him to be hanged, was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the sentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorse for the past, or of solicitude about the future; scoffing at all who visited him in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry as at any other period of his life.

In the minute detail, which the contemporary historians have given of the civil dissensions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumstances occur so striking, and which indicate such an uncommon state of manners, as to merit particular attention. Though the Spaniards who first invaded Peru were of the lowest order of society, and the greater part of those who afterwards joined them were persons of desperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders, who contended for the superiority, not one man acted as a hired soldier, that follows his standard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru considered himself as a conqueror, entitled, by his services, to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valor. In the contests between the rival chiefs, each chose his side as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their swords, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that most of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the same means, to open a way for himself to the possession of power and wealth.

But, though the troops in Peru served without any regular pay, they were raised at an immense expence.—Among men accustomed to divide the spoils of an opulent country, the desire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of pursuit augmented in proportion to
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the hope of success. Where all were intent on the same object, and under the dominion of the same passion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of securing their attachment. Officers of name and influence, besides the promise of future establishments, received in hand large gratuities from the chief with whom they engaged. While such rewards were dealt out to principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional shares were conferred upon those of inferior rank. Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new desires. Veterans, long accustomed to hardship and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation, and indulged in all the excesses of military licentiousness. The riot of low debauchery occupied some; a relish for expensive luxuries spread among others. The meanest soldier in Peru would have thought himself degraded by marching on foot, and at a time when the prices of horses in that country were exorbitant, each insisted on being furnished with one before he would take the field. But though less patient under the fatigue and hardship of service, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever, and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to display all their ancient valour. Together with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally distinguished. Civil discord never raged with a more fell spirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the passions which usually envenom contests among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerness to seize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, shut the door against mercy. To be wealthy, was of itself sufficient to expose a man to accusation, or to subject him to punishment on the slightest suspicions. Pizarro condemned many of the most opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carjaval, without searching for any pretext to justify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of those who suffered by the hand of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

The violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its usual attendants, attachment and fidelity to those with whom they acted. The ties of honour, which are held sacred among soldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, seem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for

decency, and the sense of shame were totally lost. During their diffensions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, betray the associates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The chief advisers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt were the first to forsake him, and submit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gasca by the man whom he had singled out among his officers to entrust with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in sight of the enemy, threw down their arms without striking a blow, and deserted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Instances of such general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in social union, rarely occur in history. It is only where men are far removed from the seat of government, where the restraints of law and order are little felt, where the prospect of gain is unbounded, and immense wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciousness, the perfidy, and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity seemed to be perfectly re-established. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy Gasca's attention: The one was to find immediately such employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions: the other, to bestow proper gratifications upon those, to whose loyalty and valour he was indebted for his success. The former of these was in some measure accomplished, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to prosecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the river de la Plata. The reputation of those leaders, and the hopes of bettering their condition in a new country, alluring many of the most indigent and desperate soldiers to follow their standards, drained off no inconsiderable portion of that mutinous inflammable spirit which Gasca dreaded.

The latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjusted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be distributed, in consequence of the death or forfeiture of the former possessors, were of an immense value. Gasca, when now absolute master of this property, retained the same disinterested sentiments which he had originally professed, and re-

fused

refused to reserve the smallest portion of it for himself. But the number of claimants was great; and whilst the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own services, and estimated the recompence which he thought due to him, the pretensions of each were so extravagant, that it was impossible to satisfy all. Gasca listened to them one by one, with the most patient attention, and that he might have leisure to weigh the comparative merit of their several claims with accuracy, he retired with the archbishop of Lima and a single secretary, to a village twelve leagues from Cusco. There he spent several days in allotting to each a district of land and a number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past services and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamour and rage, which he foresaw would burst out on the publication of his decree, notwithstanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he set out for Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for some days after his departure.

The indignation excited by publishing the decree of partition was not less than Gasca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, shame, rage, and all the other passions that most vehemently agitate the minds of men, when both their honour and their interest are deeply affected, conspired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military insolence. Calumny, threats, and curses were poured out openly upon the president. He was accused of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injustice.—Among soldiers prompt to action, such seditious discourse would have been soon followed by deeds no less violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards some discontented leaders, expecting them to stand forth in redress of their wrongs. By some vigorous interpositions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous spirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the present.

Gasca, however, perceiving that the flame was suppressed rather than extinguished, laboured with the utmost assiduity to soothe the malcontents; by bestowing large gratuities on some, by promising allotments, when they fell vacant, to others, and by caressing and flattering all. But that the public security might rest on a foundation more stable than their good affection, he endeavoured to strengthen the hands of his successors in office, by re-establishing the regular administration of justice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and simplicity into the mode of
collecting

collecting the royal revenue. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca, longing to return again to a private station, committed the government of Peru to the Court of Audience, and set out for Spain. As, during the anarchy and confusion of the last four years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue; he carried with him a very considerable sum of public money, which the œconomy and order of his administration enabled him to save, after paying all the expences of the war.

He was received in his native country with universal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conspicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him*; he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he supplied all those defects, and seemed to create instruments for executing his designs. He acquired such a naval force as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men which enabled him to cope with the veteran bands which gave law to Peru. He vanquished their leader, on whose arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy he established the government of laws. But the praise bestowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements, which had seduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he returned from that trying station with integrity not only untainted but unsuspected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been at the disposal of a subject in any age or nation; he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem, and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement.— But notwithstanding all Gasca's wise regulations, the tran-

* Fernandez.

quillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country, where the authority of government was almost forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and mis-rule, where there were disappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and seditious soldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to kindle combustion. Several successive insurrections desolated the country for some years. But as those, though fierce, were only transient storms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not of much importance. These commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration, and by carrying off the corrupted humours which had given rise to the disorders, they contributed in the end to strengthen the society which at first they threatened to destroy.

C H A P. XIII.

Arts, Literature, and Commerce of the Mexicans and Peruvians.—The rich Mines of Potosi discovered by an Indian.

CORTEZ, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leisure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural history with new observations. They undertook their expedition in quest of one object, and seem hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during some short interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceased, and the ardour of plunder was suspended, the institutions and manners of the people whom they had invaded drew their attention, the enquiries of illiterate soldiers were conducted with so little sagacity and precision, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order established in the Mexican monarchy are superficial, confused, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occasionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form some idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obscurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the superstition

of those who succeeded them. As the memory of past events was preserved among the Mexicans by figures painted on skins, on cotton cloth, or on the bark of trees, the early missionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and struck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry which ought to be destroyed, in order to facilitate the conversion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict issued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciscan monk, the first bishop of Mexico, all those records of the ancient Mexican story were collected and committed to the flames. In consequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who first visited New Spain, and which their successors soon began to lament, whatever knowledge of remote events such rude monuments contained, was entirely lost, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from some fragments of their historical paintings that escaped the barbarous researches of Zummaraga.

The progress of the Mexicans, as well as Peruvians, in various arts, is a decisive proof, that they are more polished than the other natives of America, though inferior to the civilized nations of the ancient continent. Cortez, and the early Spanish authors, describe this with rapture, and maintain, that the most celebrated European artists could not surpass or even equal them in ingenuity and neatness of workmanship*. They represented men, animals, and other objects, by such a disposition of various coloured feathers, as is said to have produced all the effects of light and shade, and to have imitated nature with true delicacy. But in forming any idea, from general descriptions, concerning the state of arts among nations imperfectly polished, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people, whose advances in improvement are nearly the same with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conscious of our own superiority, we survey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are astonished at works executed by them under such manifest disadvantages, and in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to represent them as productions more finished than they really are. To the influence of this illusion, without supposing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of some Spanish authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

* Dr. Robertson,

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different station belongs to them, when considered as the *records of their country*, as historical monuments of its policy and transactions; and they became curious as well as interesting objects of attention. The noblest and most beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boast, is that of writing. But the first essays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the species, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection slowly, and by a gradual progression. When the warrior, eager for fame, wished to transmit some knowledge of his exploits to succeeding ages, the first method of accomplishing this, that seems to have occurred, was to delineate, in the best manner he could, figures representing the action of which he was solicitous to preserve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called *picture-writing**, we find traces among some of the most savage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he strips a tree of its bark, and with red paint scratches upon it some uncouth figures, which represent the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the scalps and captures which he brought home. To those simple annals he trusts for renown, and soothes himself with hope that by their means he shall receive praise from the warriors of future times†. Compared with those awkward essays of their savage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be considered as works of composition and design. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording transactions, than that of delineating the objects which they wished to represent. But they could exhibit a more complex series of events in progressive order, and describe, by a proper disposition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his *accession to his death*; the progress of an *infant's education* from its birth until it attained to the years of maturity; the different recompences and marks of distinction conferred upon *warriors* in proportion to the exploits which they had performed.

Some singular specimens of this picture-writing have been preserved, which are justly considered as the most curious monuments of art brought from the New World.—The most valuable of these was published by Purchas, in sixty-six plates. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire under its ten

* Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. † Sir Wm. Johnson.

monarchs.

monarchs. The second is a tribute-roll, representing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury. The third is a code of their institutions, domestic, political, and military. Another specimen of Mexican painting has been published in thirty-two plates, by the late archbishop of Toledo. To both is annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to represent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. Their style of painting in all these is the same. They represent *things* not *words*. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the understanding. They may therefore be considered as the earliest and most imperfect essay of men in their progress towards discovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording transactions must have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was, from its nature, a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any society, its annals must have swelled to an enormous bulk. Besides this, no objects could be delineated but those of sense; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as long as picture-writing could not convey an idea of these, it must have been a very imperfect art. The necessity of improving it must have roused and sharpened invention, and the human mind, holding the same course in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the same successive steps, first, from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next, to the allegorical symbol, then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was discovered, capable of expressing all the variety of combinations of sound employed in speech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we, accordingly, perceive that this progress was begun among them. In the annals of their kings, published by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly represented in the same manner by a rude delineation of a *house*; but, in order to point out the particular towns which submitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, sometimes natural objects, and sometimes artificial figures are employed. In the tribute-roll, published by the archbishop of Toledo, the house, which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to represent it. They seem even to have made some advances beyond this, towards the use of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to describe a monarch, who had enlarged his dominion by force of arms, they painted a *target* ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and those towns which he subdued.

The

The structure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes and causeways of great length, which served as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water with no less ingenuity than labour, seems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The same observation may be applied to the structure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they convey a stream of fresh water, from a considerable distance, into the city, along one of the causeways. Cortez, who seems to have been as much astonished with this, as with any instance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular description of it. "Along one of the causeways," says he, "by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, composed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raised about six feet. In one of them is conveyed a stream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it supplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is necessary to clean or repair the former, the stream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit passes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the causeway, through which the salt-water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and sold to the inhabitants*." The appointment of a considerable number of persons to clean the streets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrol as watchmen during the night, discovers a degree of attention which even polished nations are late in acquiring. The institution of couriers, stationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one quarter of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. Some authors, with a decisive and peremptory tone, pronounce all the accounts of the Spanish writers, concerning the Mexican policy, laws, and manners, to be the fictions of men who wished to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. But, as an ingenious historian justly remarks, "who among the destroyers of this great empire was so enlightened by science, or so attentive to the progress and operations of men in social life, as to frame a fictitious system of policy, so well combined, and so consistent, as that which they delineate in their accounts of the Mexican government? Where could they have borrowed the idea of many institutions

* *Modern Voyages.*

“In legislation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted?*” It is almost impossible that the illiterate conquerors of America should have formed, in any one instance, a conception of customs and laws, beyond the standard of improvement in their own age and country.—Or, if Cortez and his followers had been capable of this, what inducement had those by whom they were superseded to continue the deception? Why should Corita, or Acosta have amused their fellow citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

The present inhabitants of Mexico may be divided into Whites, Indians, and Negroes. The Whites are either born in Old Spain, or they are Creoles, that is, descendants of those who came originally from Spain. The former are chiefly employed in government or trade, and have nearly the same character as the Spaniards in Europe, with a still more considerable proportion of pride; for they consider themselves as entitled to great distinction as natives of Europe, and look upon the other inhabitants as many degrees beneath them. The Creoles have all the bad qualities of the Spaniards from whom they are descended, without that courage, firmness, and patience, which constitute the praise-worthy part of the Spanish character. Naturally weak and effeminate, they dedicate the greatest part of their lives to loitering and inactive pleasures. Luxurious without variety or elegance, and expensive with great parade and little convenience; their general character is no more than a grave and specious insignificance. From idleness and constitution their whole business is amour and intrigue; and their leaders, by consequence, are not at all distinguished for their chastity or domestic virtues. The Indians, who, notwithstanding the devastations of the first invaders, remain in great numbers, are become, by continual oppression and indignity, a dejected, timorous, and miserable race of mortals. The blacks here, like all those in other parts of the world, are stubborn, hardy, and as well adapted for the gross slavery they endure, as any human creature can be. Such is the general character of the inhabitants, not only in Mexico, but the greatest part of Spanish America. The civil government is administered by tribunals, called *Audiences*, which bear a resemblance to the late parliaments in France. In these courts, the viceroy of the king of Spain presides. His employment is the greatest trust and power which his Catholic Majesty has

* Abbé Raynal

in his disposal, and is perhaps the richest government entrusted to any subject in the world. For, as jealousy is the leading feature of Spanish politics, in whatever regards America, no officer is allowed to retain his power for more than three years, which no doubt may have a good effect in securing the authority of the crown of Spain, but is attended with unhappy circumstances to the miserable inhabitants, who become a prey to every new governor. The clergy are extremely numerous in Mexico, and it has been computed, that priests, monks, and nuns of all orders make upwards of a fifth of all the white inhabitants, both here and in the other parts of Spanish America. It is impossible indeed to find a richer field, or one more peculiarly adapted to the purposes of the ecclesiastics. The people are superstitious, ignorant, rich, lazy, and licentious.—With such materials to work upon it is not remarkable that the church should enjoy one fourth of the revenues of the kingdom. It is more surprising that it has not one half.

Mexico, like all the other tropical countries is rather more abundant in fruits than in grain. But what is considered as the chief glory of the country, and what first induced the Spaniards to form settlements upon it, are the mines of gold and silver. The chief mines of gold are in Veragua and New Granada, bordering upon Darien and Terra Firma. Those of silver, which are much more rich as well as numerous, are found in several parts, but in none so much as in the province of Mexico. The mines of both kinds are always found in the most barren and mountainous parts of the country; nature making amends in one respect for her defects in another. The working of the gold and silver mines depends on the same principles. When the ore is dug out, compounded of several heterogeneous substances, mixed with the precious metal, it is broken into small pieces by a mill, and afterwards washed; by which means it is disengaged from the earth and other soft bodies which clung to it. Then it is mixed with mercury, which, of all substances, has the strongest attraction for gold, and likewise a stronger attraction for silver than the other substances which are united with it in the ore. By means of mercury, therefore, the gold and silver are first separated from the heterogeneous matter, and then by straining and evaporation, they are disunited from the mercury itself. Of the gold and silver, which the mines of Mexico afford, great things have been said. Those who have enquired most into the subject, compute the revenues of Mexico at twenty-four millions of our money*; and it is

* Dr. Smith's Wealth of Nations.

well known that this, with the other provinces of Spanish America, supply the whole world with silver.

The other articles next in importance to gold and silver are the cochineal and cocoa. After much dispute concerning the nature of the former, it seems at last agreed that it is of the animal kind, and of the species of the gall insects. It adheres to the plant called opuntia, and sucks the juice of the fruit, which is of a crimson colour. It is from this juice that the cochineal derives its value, which consists in dying all sorts of the finest scarlet, crimson, and purple. It is also used in medicine as a sudorific, and as a cordial; and it is computed that the Spaniards annually export no less than nine hundred thousand weight of this commodity, to answer the purposes of medicine and dying. The cocoa, of which chocolate is made, is the next considerable article in the natural history and commerce of Mexico. It grows on a tree of middling size, which bears a pod of the size and shape of a cucumber, containing the cocoa. The Spanish commerce in this article is immense; and such is the internal consumption, as well as the external demand for it, that a small garden of cocoa is said to produce to the owner twenty thousand crowns a year. At home it makes a principal part of their diet, and is found wholesome, nutritious, and suitable to the climate.

The trade of Mexico consists of three great branches, which extend over the world. It carries on a traffic with Europe, by La Vera Cruz, situated on the gulph of Mexico; with the East Indies, by Acapulco on the South Sea; and with South America by the same port. These two sea-ports, Vera Cruz and Acapulco, are wonderfully well situated for the commercial purposes to which they are applied. It is by means of the former that Mexico pours her wealth over the whole world; and receives in return the numberless luxuries and necessaries, which Europe affords to her, and which the indolence of her inhabitants will never permit them to acquire for themselves. To this port the fleet from Cadiz, called the Flota, consisting of three men of war, as a convoy, and fourteen large merchant ships, annually arrive about the beginning of November. Its cargo consists of every commodity and manufacture of Europe, and there are few nations but have more concern in it than the Spaniards, who send out little more than wine and oil. The profit of these, with the freight and commission to the merchants, and duties to the king, are the only advantages which Spain derives from her American commerce. When all the goods are landed and disposed of at La Vera Cruz, the fleet takes in the plate,

precious

precious stones, and other commodities for Europe. Some-time in May they are ready to depart. From La Vera Cruz they sail to the Havannah, in the isle of Cuba, which is the rendezvous where they meet the galleons, another fleet which carries on the trade of Terra Firma, by Carthagena, and of Peru by Panama and Porto Bello. When all are collected and provided with a convoy necessary for their safety, they steer for Old Spain.

Acapulco is the sea-port by which the communication is kept up between the different parts of the Spanish empire in America, and the East Indies. About the month of December, the great galleon, attended by a large ship as a convoy, annually arrives here. The cargoes of these ships, (for the convoy, though in an underhand manner, likewise carries goods) consist of all the rich commodities and manufactures of the East. At the same time the annual ship from Lima, the capital of Peru, comes in, and is computed to bring not less than two millions of pieces of eight in silver, besides quicksilver and other valuable commodities, to be laid out in the purchase of the galleon's cargo. Several other ships, from different parts of Chili and Peru, meet upon the same occasion. A great fair, in which the commodities of all parts of the world are bartered for one another, lasts thirty days. The galleon then prepares for her voyage, loaded with silver and such European goods as have been thought necessary. The Spaniards, though this trade be carried on entirely through their hands, and in the very heart of their dominions, are comparatively but small gainers by it. For, as they allow the Dutch, Great Britain, and other commercial states to furnish the greater part of the cargo of the flota, so the Spanish inhabitants of the Philippines, tainted with the same indolence which ruined their European ancestors, permit the Chinese merchants to furnish the greater part of the cargo of the galleon. Notwithstanding what has been said of Vera Cruz, and Acapulco, the city of Mexico, the capital of the empire, ought to be considered as the centre of commerce in this part of the world; for here the principal merchants reside, and the greatest part of the business is negociated. The East India goods from Acapulco, and the European from Vera Cruz also pass through this city. Hither all the gold and silver come to be coined; here the king's fifth is deposited, and here are wrought all those utensils and ornaments in plate which are every year sent into Europe. The city itself breathes the air of the highest magnificence; and, according to the best accounts, contains about eighty thousand inhabitants.

The empire of *Peru* boasts of an higher antiquity than that of *Mexico*. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had subsisted four hundred years, under twelve successive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient story, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, must have been both imperfect and uncertain. Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and destitute of the only means by which the memory of past transactions can be preserved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the use of letters is known, the era where the authenticity of history commences, is much posterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued long subservient to the common business and wants of life, before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down historic knowledge, in any full continued stream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of *Peru* is said to have subsisted. The *Quipos*, or knots on cords of different colours which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous*, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to their obscure description, the quipos seem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours, different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But as by these knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and institutions. The Mexican paintings and symbols, rude as they were, conveyed to them more knowledge of remote transactions, than the Peruvians could derive from their boasted quipos. Had they been even of more extensive use, and better adapted to supply the place of written records, they perished so generally together with the other monuments of the Peruvian ingenuity, in the general wreck occasioned by the Spanish conquest, and the civil wars subsequent to it, that no accession of light or knowledge comes from them. Very little credit is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conquests, and private character

* Acosta and Vega.

of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can rest upon nothing in their story as authentic but a few facts, so interwoven in the system of their religion and policy, as preserved the memory of them from being lost; and upon the description of such customs and institutions as continued in force at the time of the conquest, and fell under the immediate observation of the Spaniards. The most singular and striking circumstances in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make such a feeble impression on the mind of a savage; that their effect upon his sentiments and manners are hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular system, and holding a considerable place in their public institutions, operated with conspicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole system of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legislator, but as the messenger of heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a superior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race, as we have already observed, was held to be sacred; and in order to preserve it distinct, without being polluted by a mixture of inferior blood, the sons of Mango Capac married their own sisters, and no person was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by such a pure descent. To those children of the Sun, for that was the appellation bestowed upon all the offspring of the first Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a superior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they issued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was supposed to be dictated. The multitude listened and believed.

Though Peru lies within the torrid zone, yet having on one side the South Sea, and on the other the great ridge of the Andes, it is not so stifled with heat as the other tropical countries. The sky, too, which is generally cloudy, shields them from the direct rays of the sun: but what is extremely singular, it never rains in Peru. The defect, however, is sufficiently supplied by a soft kindly dew, which falls gradually every night on the ground, and so refreshes the plants and grass, as to produce in many places the greatest fertility. Along the sea coast, Peru is generally a dry barren sand, except near the banks of rivers, where it is extremely fertile, as are all the low lands in the inland country.

The northern part of Peru produces wine in great plenty. Wool is another article of its produce, and is no less remarkable for its fineness than for the animals on which it

grows; these they call Lamas and Vicunnas. The lama has a small head, resembling that of a horse and a sheep at the same time. It is about the size of a stag, its upper lip is cleft like that of a hare, through which, when enraged, it spits a kind of venomous juice, which inflames the part it falls on. The flesh of the lama is agreeable and salutary, and the animal is not only useful in affording wool and food, but also as a beast of burden. It can endure amazing fatigue, and will travel over the steepest mountains with a burden of sixty or seventy pounds. It feeds very sparingly, and never drinks. The vicunna is smaller and swifter than the lama, and produces wool still finer in quality. In the vicunna is found the bezoar stone, regarded as a specific against poisons. The next great article is the Peruvian bark, known better by the name of Jesuits bark. The tree which produces this invaluable drug, grows principally in the mountainous parts of Peru, and particularly in the province of Quito. The best bark is always produced in the high and rocky grounds. The tree which bears it, is about the size of a cherry tree, and produces a kind of fruit resembling the almond. But it is only the bark which has those excellent qualities that render it so useful in intermitting fevers, and other disorders, to which daily experience extends the application. Guinea pepper, or Cayenne pepper as we call it, is produced in the greatest abundance in the vale of Africa, a district in the southern part of Peru, from whence it is annually exported, to the value of 600,000 crowns. Peru is likewise the only port of South America which produces quicksilver; an article of immense value, considering the various purposes to which it is applied, and especially the purification of gold and silver. The principal mine is at a place called Guancavelica, discovered in 1567, where it is found in a whitish mass, resembling brick ill burned. This substance is volatilized by fire, and received in steam by a combination of glass vessels, where it condenses by means of a little water at the bottom of each vessel, and forms a pure heavy liquid.

There are many gold mines in the northern part of Peru; but the old mines are continually decaying, and new ones continually opening. The towns shift with the mines. That of Potosi, which is now much exhausted, once contained ninety thousand souls, Spaniards and Indians, of which the latter were six to one. Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men, who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which

which the culture of the earth, and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or so enterprising and rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as soon as the several countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to settle, by the prospect of their affording gold and silver, were totally neglected. Those, in which they met with a disappointment of the sanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the islands, the first fruits of their discoveries, and the first object of their attention, sunk so much in their estimation, when the mines which they had opened there were exhausted, that they were deserted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more industrious possessors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vast quantities of gold and silver found among the natives, who searched for them with little industry, and less skill, promised an unexhausted store, as the recompence of more intelligent and persevering efforts. During several years, the ardour of their researches was kept up by hope, rather than success. At length the rich silver mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered by an Indian as he was clambering up the mountain, in pursuit of a lama which A. D. 1545. had strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firma, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting. The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the new world poured forth their treasures, astonished mankind, accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. The mines, which yield so much riches, are not worked at the expence of the crown, nor of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the person who discovers a new vein, is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is measured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited

time, and of his paying the customary duty to the king for what it shall produce. Invited by the facility with which such grants are obtained, and encouraged by some striking example of success in this line of adventure; not only the sanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with astonishing ardour. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give them up to their wishes, they deem every other occupation insipid and uninteresting. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, is so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence, the cautious become enterprising, and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru, by the cant name of searchers. These are commonly persons of desperate fortunes, who, availing themselves of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the insinuating manner, and confident pretensions peculiar to projectors, address the wealthy and the credulous. By plausible descriptions of the appearances, which they have discovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing when requisite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with an imposing assurance, that success is certain, and that the expence must be trifling; they seldom fail to persuade. An association is formed; a small sum is advanced by each co-partner; the mine is opened; the *searcher* is entrusted with the sole direction of every operation; unforeseen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is observed, that if any person once enter this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return; his ideas alter, he seems to be possessed with another spirit, visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else.

Such is the spirit that must be formed, wherever the active exertions of any society are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and silver. No spirit is more adverse to such improvement in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the system of administration in the Spanish colonies had been founded upon principles of sound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legislature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in restraining its subjects from such pernicious industry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of
mining

mining (says a good judge of the political conduct of nations) instead of replacing the capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profit of stock, commonly absorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which, of all others, a prudent law-giver, who desired to increase the capital of his nation, would least chuse to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater share of that capital than would go to them of its own accord. Such in reality is the absurd confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that where there is the least probability of success, too great a share of it is apt to go to them of its own accord*¹. But in the Spanish colonies, government is studious to cherish a spirit which it should have laboured to depress, and by the sanction of its approbation augments that inconsiderate credulity, which has turned the active industry of Mexico and Peru into such an improper channel. To this may be imputed the slender progress which they have made during two centuries and a half, either in useful manufactures, or in those lucrative branches of cultivation, which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities. In comparison with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is so much despised, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of the language in America, and the Spaniards settled there denominate a country, *rich*, not from the fertility of its soil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its pastures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In quest of these, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and resort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built some of the largest towns which they possess in the new world. As the activity and enterprise of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now so difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various causes, the gain of working mines is much decreased; the fascination continues, and almost every person who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is still engaged in some adventure of this kind.

Lima is the capital of Peru; its situation in the middle of a spacious and delightful valley, was fixed upon by the famous Pizarro, as the most proper for a city, which he expected would preserve his memory. It is so well watered by the river Rimac, that the inhabitants, like those of London, command a stream, each for his own use. There

* Dr. Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

are many very magnificent structures, particularly churches, in this city; though the houses in general are built of slight materials, the equality of the climate, and want of rain, rendering stone houses unnecessary; and besides, it is found that these are more apt to suffer by shocks of the earth, which are frequent and dreadful all over this province.—

Lima is about two leagues from the sea, extends in length two miles, and in breadth one and a quarter. It contains about six hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom the whites amount to a sixth part. One remarkable fact is sufficient to demonstrate the wealth of the city. When the

viceroi, the duke de la Palade, made his entry
A. D. 1682. into Lima, the inhabitants, to do him honour, caused the streets to be paved with ingots of silver, amounting it is said, to seventeen millions sterling.—

All travellers speak with amazement of the decorations of the churches with gold, silver, and precious stones, which load and ornament even the walls. The merchants of Lima may be said to deal with all the quarters of the world, and that both on their own accounts, and as factors for others. Here all the products of the southern provinces are conveyed, in order to be exchanged at the harbour of Lima, for such articles as the inhabitants of Peru stand in need of; the fleet from Europe, and the East Indies, land at the same harbour, and the commodities of Asia, Europe, and America, are bartered for each other. What there is no immediate vent for, the merchants of Lima purchase on their own accounts, and lay it up in warehouses, knowing that they must soon find an outlet, since by one channel or other they have a communication with almost every commercial nation. But all the wealth of the inhabitants, all the beauty of the situation, and fertility of the climate of Lima, are not sufficient to compensate for one disaster which always threatens, and has sometimes actually befallen them. A most tremendous earthquake laid three-fourths of

this city level with the ground, and entirely demolished Callao, the port town belonging to it,

Never was any destruction more terrible or compleat, not more than one of three thousand inhabitants being left to record this dreadful calamity, and he by an accident the most extraordinary. This man, who happened to be on a fort which overlooked the harbour, perceived in one minute the inhabitants running from their houses in the utmost terror and confusion; the sea, as is usual on such occasions, receding a considerable distance, returned in mountainous waves, and buried the inhabitants for ever in its bosom; but the same wave which destroyed the

the town drove a little boat to the place where the man stood, into which he threw himself, and was saved.

As Cusco, the ancient capital of the Peruvian empire, lies in the mountainous part of the country, and at a distance from the sea, it has been long on the decline. But it is still a very considerable place, and contains above forty thousand inhabitants, three parts Indians, and very industrious in manufacturing baize, cotton, and leather.— They have also, both here and at Quito, a particular taste for painting; and their productions in this way, some of which have been admired in Italy, are dispersed all over South America. Quito is next to Lima in populousness, if not superior to it. It is like Cusco, an inland city, and having no mines in its neighbourhood, is chiefly famous for its manufactures of cotton, wool, and flax, which supply the consumption over all the kingdom of Peru.

The manners of the inhabitants do not remarkably differ over the whole Spanish dominions. Pride and laziness are the two predominant passions. It is said by the most authentic travellers, that the manners of Old Spain have degenerated in its colonies. The Creoles, and all the other descendants of the Spaniards, according to the above distinctions, are guilty of many mean and pilfering vices, which a true born Castilian regards with detestation. This, no doubt, in part arises from the contempt in which all but the real natives of Spain are held in the Indies, mankind generally behaving according to the treatment they meet with from others. In Lima, the Spanish pride has made the greatest descents; and many of the first nobility are employed in commerce. It is in this city that the viceroy resides, whose authority extends over all Peru, except Quito, which has lately been detached from it. The viceroy is as absolute as the king of Spain; but as his territories are so extensive, it is necessary that he should part with a share of his authority to the several audiences or courts established over the kingdom. There is a treasury court established at Lima, for receiving the fifth of the produce of the mines, and certain taxes paid by the Indians, which belong to the king of Spain.

C H A P X I V .

Of Chili, and other Spanish Settlements in South America.

THERE is no part of the world more favoured than Chili with respect to the gifts of nature. The air, though in a hot climate, is remarkably temperate, occasioned by the refreshing breezes from the sea, and the cool winds from the tops of the Andes, which are covered with eternal snows. Spring begins here about the middle of August, and continues till November. It is summer from November till February. Autumn continues till May; and winter till August. It rarely snows in the valleys, though the mountains are always covered. The country is entirely free from all kinds of ravenous beasts, poisonous animals and vermin; not even so much as a fly is to be found here. The soil is extremely fertile, being watered from numberless little rivulets from the mountains. It abounds in gold, silver, and lead mines; and the rivers themselves roll on golden sands. But their staple commodity is cattle, which they have in such abundance, as frequently to cast the flesh into the rivers, reserving the hides, tallow, and tongues for exportation.

The Spaniards made several attempts to reduce this country, but with no great success, till they built the capital of St. Iago, now the residence of the A. D. 1541. Spanish governor, and a bishop's see; and afterwards Coquimbo, Concepcion, and Baldivia. The natives are remarkable for wit, fortitude, and patience; and the Spaniards to this day have never been able to subdue them; they continue still masters of part of the inland country. There have lately been some formidable insurrections against the Spaniards by the natives, which have greatly alarmed the Spanish court.

Paraguay, or La Plata, was first discovered by the Spaniards, who founded the capital Buenos Ayres. A. D. 1535. Most of the country is still inhabited by the native Americans, many of whom are said to have wooden houses built on wheels, which they draw from place to place as occasion requires. There are no mountains of consequence here, excepting that remarkable chain which divides South America, called the Andes. The height of Chimborazo, the most elevated point in these mountains is 20,280 feet, which is above 5000 feet higher than any other mountain in the known world.

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An extraordinary species of commonwealth was erected by the Jesuits in the interior parts of this country, concerning which they endeavoured to keep all strangers in the dark. About the middle of last century, those fathers represented to the court of Spain, that the want of success in their missions was owing to the scandal which the immorality of the Spaniards never failed to give, and to the hatred which their insolent behaviour caused in the Indians.— They insinuated that, were it not for those obstacles, the empire of the gospel might, by their labours, have been extended into the most unknown parts of America; and that all those countries might be subdued to his Catholic majesty's obedience, without expence and without force. This remonstrance met with success; the sphere of their labours was marked out, and the governors of the adjacent provinces had orders, not to interfere, nor to suffer any Spaniards to enter into this pale without licence from the fathers. They, on their part, agreed to pay a certain capitation tax, in proportion to their flock; and to send a certain number to the king's works whenever they should be demanded, and the missions should become populous enough to supply them. On these terms the Jesuits gladly entered upon the scene of action, and opened their spiritual campaign. They began by gathering together about fifty wandering families, whom they persuaded to settle; and they united them into a little township. This was the slight foundation upon which they built a superstructure, which amazed the whole world, and added much power to, at the same time that it occasioned much envy against, their society. For, when they had made this beginning, they laboured with such indefatigable pains, and such masterly policy, that, by degrees, they mollified the minds of the most savage nations, fixed the most rambling, and subdued those to their government, who had long disdained to submit to the arms of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They prevailed upon thousands of various dispersed tribes to embrace their religion; and these soon induced others to follow the example, magnifying the peace and tranquillity they enjoyed under the protection of the *Fathers*.

To trace with precision all the steps which were taken in the accomplishment of so extraordinary a conquest over the bodies and minds of men, would fill half a volume.— The Jesuits left nothing undone that could confirm their subjection, or that could increase their number; and it is said that above 340,000 families lived in obedience, and expressed an awe, bordering upon adoration, yet procured without any violence or constraint; that the Indians were instructed in the military art, and could raise 60,000 men
well

well armed; that they lived in towns; were regularly clad; laboured in agriculture; exercised manufactures; that some even aspired to the elegant arts; and that nothing could equal their submission to authority, except their contentment under it. Some writers have treated the character of these Jesuits with great severity; accusing them of ambition, pride, and of carrying their authority to such an excess, as to cause not only persons of both sexes, but even the magistrates, who were always chosen from among the Indians, to be corrected before them with stripes, and by suffering persons of the highest distinction, within their jurisdiction, to kiss the hem of their garments as the greatest honour. The priests themselves possessed large property, all manufactures were theirs, the natural produce of the country was brought to them, and the treasures annually remitted to the superior of the order, seemed to evince that zeal for religion was not the only motive for forming these missions. The fathers would not permit any of the inhabitants of Peru to come within their mission in Paraguay. When part of this territory was

A. D. 1757. ceded by Spain to the crown of Portugal in exchange for Saint Sacrament, to make the Uragna the boundary of their possessions, the Jesuits refused to comply with this division, or to suffer themselves to be transferred from one hand to another, like cattle without their own consent. The Indians, according to the best information*, actually took up arms; but, notwithstanding the exactness of their discipline, they were easily, and without considerable slaughter, defeated by the European troops, who were sent to quell them. The Jesuits were removed from America, by royal authority, and their late subjects were put upon the same footing with the rest of the inhabitants of the country.

Terra Firma was discovered by Columbus in his third voyage to the American continent. It was subdued and settled by the Spaniards, after destroying, with great inhumanity, several millions of the natives. This country was called *Terra Firma*, on account of its being the first part of the continent which was discovered, all the lands that were found previous to this being islands. The climate here, especially in the northern parts, is extremely hot and sultry during the whole year. From the month of May to the end of November, the season called winter by the inhabitants, is almost a continual succession of thunder, rain, and tempests; the

* Spanish Gazette.

clouds precipitating the rains with such impetuosity, that the low lands exhibit the appearance of an ocean. Great part of the country is, by consequence, almost continually flooded; and this, together with the excessive heat, so impregnates the air with vapours, that in many provinces it is extremely unwholesome. The soil is very different, the inland parts being exceedingly rich and fertile, and the coasts sandy and barren. It is impossible to view, without admiration, the perpetual verdure of the woods, the luxuriance of the plains, and the towering height of the mountains. The trees most remarkable for their dimensions, are the cedar, the maria, and the balsam tree. The manchineel tree is particularly singular. It bears a fruit resembling an apple, but which, under this specious appearance, contains the most subtle poison, against which common oil is found to be the best antidote. The malignity of this tree is such, that if a person only sleep under it, he finds his body all swelled, and racked with the severest tortures. The beasts, from instinct alone, avoid it. Among the animals peculiar to this country, the most remarkable is the *Sloth*; or, as it is called by way of derision, the *Swift Peter*. It bears a resemblance to an ordinary monkey in shape and size, but is of a most wretched appearance, and never stirs unless compelled by hunger. He is said to be several minutes in moving one of his legs, nor will blows make him mend his pace. When he moves, every effort is attended with such a plaintive, and at the same time, so disagreeable a cry, as at once produces pity and disgust.— In this cry consists the whole defence of this wretched animal. For, on the first hostile approach, it is natural for him to be in motion, which is always attended with disgusting howling, so that his pursuer flies much more speedily in his turn, to be beyond the reach of this horrid noise.— When this animal finds no wild fruits on the ground, he looks out with a great deal of pains for a tree well loaded, which he ascends, with a world of uneasiness, moving, and crying, and stopping by turns. At length, having mounted, he plucks off all the fruit and throws it on the ground, to save him such another troublesome journey; and rather than be fatigued with coming down the tree, he gathers himself in a *bunch* and with a shriek drops to the ground.

The commerce of this country is chiefly carried on from the ports of Panama, Carthagena, and Porto Bello; which are three of the most considerable cities in Spanish America. Among the natural merchandise of Terra Firma, the pearls found on the coast, particularly in the bay of Panama, are not the least considerable. The fish-
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ing for these employs a great number of negro slaves, who have arrived at wonderful dexterity in this occupation. They are sometimes, however, devoured by fish, particularly the sharks, while they dive to the bottom, or are crushed against the shelves of the rocks.

AMAZONIA was discovered by Francisco Orellana, A. D. 1580. who, on his return from Peru, sailed down the river Amazon to the Atlantic Ocean. He observed on the banks of the river, companies of women in arms, and from thence called the country Amazonia, or the land of the Amazons; and gave the name of Amazon to the river, which formerly had been called Maragon. The Spaniards made several attempts to plant this country, but always met with so many difficulties and disasters as rendered their designs abortive; so that the natives are in possession of almost all the country. The Amazon is one of the largest rivers in the world. It runs a course, from West to East, of about three thousand miles, and receives two hundred other rivers, many of which have a course of five or six hundred leagues, and some of them not inferior to the Danube or the Nile. The breadth of this river at its mouth, where it discharges itself by several channels into the ocean, almost under the equator, is one hundred and fifty miles; and one thousand five hundred miles from its mouth, it is thirty or forty fathoms deep.— In the rainy season it overflows its banks, and fertilizes the adjacent country.

PATAGONIA is a tract of country, about eight hundred miles long, and three hundred broad, at the southern extremity of the American continent. It was discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese, in the service of Spain; at least he was the first that sailed through the straits called by his name. Upon the first discovery of the Straits of Magellan, the Spaniards built forts and sent A. D. 1519. some colonies thither; but most of the people perished with cold and hunger; since which time no settlements have been attempted by any Europeans. Patagonia is full of high mountains, which are covered with snow most of the year. The storms of wind, rain, and hail are terrible upon this coast. The soil is very barren, and has never been cultivated. The natives inhabit thatched huts, and wear no clothes, notwithstanding the rigour of the climate. They live chiefly on fish and game, and what the earth spontaneously produces. A late circumnavigator gives the following account of them. “We were very near Cape Virgin Mary, on the coast of Patagonia, about four o’clock in the afternoon, and upon
“ the

“ the point of it we saw several men riding, who made
 “ signs for us to come on shore. In about half an hour
 “ we anchored in a bay, close under the south side of the
 “ cape, in ten fathom water, with a gravelly bottom. The
 “ Swallow and store-ship anchored soon after between us
 “ and the cape. From the cape there runs a shoal to the
 “ distance of about half a league, which may be easily
 “ known by the weeds that are upon it. We found it high
 “ water at half an hour after eleven, and the tide rose
 “ twenty feet. The natives continued abreast of the ship
 “ all night, making several great fires, and frequently
 “ shouting very loud. As soon as it was light, we saw
 “ great numbers of them in motion, who made signs for
 “ us to land. About five o’clock I made the signal for
 “ the boats belonging to the Swallow and Prince Frederick
 “ to come on board; and, in the mean time, hoisted out
 “ our own. These boats being all manned and armed, I
 “ took a party of marines and rowed towards the shore,
 “ having left orders with the master to bring the ship’s
 “ broad-side to bear upon the landing-place, and to keep
 “ the guns loaded with round-shot. We reached the beach
 “ about six o’clock, and, before we went from the boat,
 “ I made signs to the natives to retire to some distance.—
 “ They immediately complied, and I then landed with the
 “ captain of the Swallow, and several of the officers.
 “ The marines were drawn up, and the boats were brought
 “ to a grapple near the shore. I then made signs to the
 “ natives to come near, and directed them to sit down in a
 “ semicircle, which they did, with great order and cheer-
 “ fulness. When this was done, I distributed among them
 “ several knives, scissars, buttons, beads, combs, and
 “ other toys; particularly some ribbons to the women,
 “ which they received with a very becoming mixture of
 “ pleasure and respect. As I had two measuring rods with
 “ me, we went round and measured those that appeared to
 “ be *tallest* among them. One of them was *six feet seven*
 “ *inches* high, several more were *six feet five*, and *six feet*
 “ *six inches*: but the stature of the greater part of them
 “ was from *five feet ten to six feet*. They appear to be
 “ a hardy and active race. Their arms are bows and ar-
 “ rows headed with flints*.”

* Captain Wallis.

C H A P. XV.

Of Florida, and other Spanish Possessions in North America,

FLORIDA was discovered by Sebastian Cabot; and under this name the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America, which extends from Mexico to the northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana.—The Spaniards, who had often contented themselves with preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit, were desirous of settling on this spot, A. D. 1565. after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small establishment there. The most easterly settlement in this colony was known by the name of San Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river, at two leagues distance from the sea, on an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the *sassafras* upon it. This tree, a native of America, is of a better kind in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry nor too damp. It is straight and lofty like a fir tree, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves resemble those of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken in infusion as tea. Its root, being very serviceable in medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a greyish colour; of a sharp, sweetish and aromatic taste; and should have the smell of the fennel and anise. These qualities give it the virtue of promoting perspiration, and of dissolving thick and viscous humours.

Another establishment was formed upon the same coast, about fifteen miles distant from San Mattheo, known by the name of St. Augustine. The English attacked it, but were obliged to desist from their attempts.—

A. D. 1747. Some Scotch Highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the assailants, were repulsed and slain. A serjeant who had fought among the Spaniards, was spared by the Indian savages, only that he might be reserved to undergo those torments, which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing

seeing the horrid tortures which awaited him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner : “ Heroes and patriarchs of the western world, you were not the enemies that I fought for ; but you have at last been conquerors. The chance of war has thrown me into your power. Make what use you please of the right of conquest. This is a right I do not call in question. But as it is customary in my country to offer a ransom for one’s life, listen to a proposal not unworthy of your notice. Know then, valiant Americans, that in the country of which I am a native, there are some men who possess a superior knowledge of the secrets of nature. One of those sages, connected to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, when I became a soldier, a charm to make me invulnerable. You must have observed how I have escaped all your darts. Without such a charm would it have been possible for me to have survived all the mortal blows you have aimed at me ? For I appeal to your own valour, to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted itself, and has not avoided any danger. Life is not so much the object of my request, as the glory of having communicated to you a secret of so much consequence to your safety, and of rendering the most valiant nation upon earth invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies of enchantment, of which I now make trial on myself before you.”

The Indians listened with eagerness to this discourse, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a short consultation, they untied one of the prisoner’s arms. The Highlander begged that they would put his broad sword into the hands of the stoutest and most expert man among them ; and at the same time laying bare his neck, after rubbing it, and muttering some words accompanied with magic signs, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance : “ Observe now. O valiant Indians, an incontestible proof of my honesty ! Thou warrior, who now holdest my keen cutting weapon, do thou now strike with all thy strength : far from being able to sever my head from my body, thou wilt not even wound the skin of my neck.” He had scarcely uttered these words, when the Indian aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the serjeant, to the distance of twenty feet. The astonished savages stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger ; and then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But, admiring the

artifice which the prisoner had made use of to avoid torture, by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country*.

Florida has experienced the vicissitudes of war, and frequently changed masters, belonging alternately to the French and Spaniards. It was ceded by the latter to the English by the peace of 1763. During the last war it was again reduced by the arms of his Catholic Majesty, and was guaranteed to the crown of Spain by the late definitive treaty. St. Augustine, the capital of East Florida, is situated on the sea coast. It is of an oblong figure, and intersected by four streets, which cut each other at right angles. The principal town in West Florida is Pensacola, which lies within the beach, on a sandy shore that can only be approached by small vessels.

There is not, on the whole continent of America, any place better qualified by nature to afford not only all the necessities of life, but also all the pleasures of habitation, than that part of Florida which lies upon the banks of the Mississippi. Orange and lemon trees grow here, without cultivation, to a large size, and produce better fruit than in Spain or Portugal. But this country is rendered valuable in a peculiar manner, by the extensive ranges for cattle. The animal creation is here so numerous, that one may purchase a good-saddle horse in exchange for goods of five shillings value, prime cost; and there are instances of horses being exchanged for a hatchet per head.

Amidst the various birds which inhabit the forests, there is one extremely singular in its kind; this is the humming-bird, a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called *l'oiseau mouche*, or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch. The spring is the only season for this charming bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and, on the inside, lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it about the

* Abbé Raynal.

size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones, but they have never lived more than three weeks, or a month at most. The humming-bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid, but will suffer a person to approach within eight or ten feet of it. Who would imagine that so diminutive an animal could be malicious? These birds are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beaks are so sudden and quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow. These little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stripped of all their leaves by the fury of the humming-birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment be not rather an effect of hunger than of a destructive instinct.

Louisiana is a vast country, bounded on the south by the sea; on the east by Carolina; on the west by New Mexico; and on the north by that part of Canada whose unknown lands are supposed to extend as far as Hudson's Bay. It is impossible to ascertain the exact length of it; but it is thought to be about two hundred leagues broad, between the English and the Spanish settlements. The Mississippi, on which the fine country of Louisiana is situated, was first discovered by Ferdinand de Soto. Monsieur de la Salte was the first who traversed it. He, after passing down to the mouth of the Mississippi, and A. D. 1541. surveying the adjacent country, returned to Canada, from whence he took passage to France. From the flattering accounts which he gave of the country, and the consequential advantages that would accrue from settling a colony in those parts, Louis XIV. was induced to establish a company for the purpose. Accordingly a squadron of four vessels, amply provided with men and provisions, under the command of Monsieur de la Salte, embarked, with an intention to settle near the mouth of the

Mississippi. But he unintentionally failed one hundred leagues to the westward of it, where he attempted to establish a colony; but, through the unfavourableness of the climate, most of his men miserably perished, and he himself was villainously murdered, not long after, by two of his own men. Monsieur Ibberville succeeded him in his laudable attempts. He, after two successful voyages, died while preparing for a third. Crozar succeeded him; and in 1712, the king gave him Louisiana. This grant continued but a short time after the death of Louis XIV. In 1763, Louisiana was ceded to the king of Spain, to whom it now belongs.

Louisiana is agreeably situated between the extremes of heat and cold. The sky is seldom clouded; the sun, which gives life to every thing, shining almost every day. Whenever it rains, the showers are heavy: but as they seldom happen, the want of them is amply compensated by copious dews. The air in general is pure, but much more so in Upper than in Lower Louisiana. In this happy climate, the women are blessed with a pleasing figure, and the men are less subject to disorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmities in old age, than the Europeans. The soil must have appeared excellent before it was tried. It abounded with wild fruits, very pleasant to the taste. It furnished a liberal provision for a great number of birds and wild beasts. The meadows, on which no art or labour had been bestowed, were covered with roebucks and bisons. Perhaps no trees are to be found comparable to those of Louisiana for height, variety, and thickness. If it affords no woods for dying, it is because they are only produced between the tropics. Since the soil has been tried in several districts, it has been found to be fit for all kinds of culture.

The Mississippi, which forms the western boundary of Florida, and is one of the finest in the world, as well as the largest; for, including its turnings and windings, it is supposed to run a course of 4500 miles; but its mouths are in a manner choaked up with sands and shoals, which deny access to vessels of any considerable burthen; there being only twelve feet water over the bar at the principal entrance. Within the bar there is 100 fathoms water, and the channel is every where deep, and the current gentle, except at a certain season, when, like the Nile, it overflows and becomes extremely rapid. If we except the entrance already mentioned, it is every where free from shoals and cataraets, and navigable for craft of one kind or other almost to its source. When the breadth and depth of the Mississippi are

are alone considered, the navigation appears to be easy; but this is an error. It is very tedious, even in coming down, because it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and because the light canoes made of bark, which are so convenient on all other rivers, are useless upon this. It requires larger boats, which are consequently heavier, and not so easily managed. Without these precautions, as the river is always full of trees that fall from its own banks, or float into it from other rivers it receives, the boats would be in continual danger of striking against the boughs or roots of some tree lying under the water. The difficulties are greater still in going up the river. At a certain distance from land, before the entrance of the Mississippi, care must be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louisiana. The coast is so flat, that it can hardly be seen at the distance of two leagues, and it is not easy to get up to it. The river empties itself into the sea, through a great number of openings. These openings are constantly varying, and most of them have but little depth of water. When a vessel has happily surmounted all these obstacles, she may sail without any great difficulty, ten or eleven leagues, thro' an open and sandy country. The boats on each side are covered with thick forests, that wholly intercept the winds. Such a dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes up a month to sail twenty leagues; and this is only to be effected by successively fastening the cordage to some great tree. The rest of the navigation, upon a stream so rapid, and so full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and sails, and are forced to pass on from one point of land to another; and though they set out by break of day, are thought to have made a considerable progress if they have advanced five or six leagues by the close of the evening.

New Mexico and California, lying for the most part within the temperate zone, have a climate in many places extremely agreeable, and a soil productive of every thing, either for profit or delight. In California, however, the heat is great in summer, particularly towards the sea-coast; but in the inland country, the climate is more temperate, and in winter even cold. The natural history of these countries is still in its infancy. The Spaniards themselves know little of the matter, and the little they know they are unwilling to communicate, being jealous of discovering the natural advantages of this country, which might be an inducement to other nations to form settlements there. It is certain, however, that in general the provinces of New Mexico and California are extremely beautiful and pleasant;

sant; the face of the country is agreeably varied with plains, intersected by rivers, and adorned with gentle eminences covered with various kinds of trees, some producing excellent fruit. In California there falls in the morning a great quantity of dew, which, settling on the rose-leaves, candies, becomes hard like manna, having all the sweetness of refined sugar, without its whiteness. There is also another very singular natural production. In the heart of the country there are plains of salt, quite firm, clear as crystal, which, considering the vast quantities of fish found on its coasts, might render it an invaluable acquisition to an industrious nation. Cortez, the great conqueror of Mexico, discovered the extensive peninsula of California after enduring incredible hardships, and on

A. D. 1536. countering dangers of almost every species.

During a long period it continued to be so little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in most maps it was represented as an island. Sir Francis Drake was the first who took possession of it in 1578, and his right was confirmed by the principal king or chief in the whole country.

The principal *Spanish Islands* are Cuba, St. Domingo, Porto Rico, and Juan Fernandez. The island of Cuba is supposed to have the best soil, for so large a country, of any in America. It produces all the commodities known in the West Indies, particularly ginger, long-pepper, and other spices, cassia, fistula, mastic and aloes.

The island of *Hispaniola* or *St. Domingo*, was first possessed by the Spaniards alone; but by far the most considerable part is now in the hands of the French. However, as the Spaniards were the original possessors, and still continue to have a share, Hispaniola is commonly regarded as a Spanish island. It is situated between Cuba and Porto Rico, and is 450 miles long, and 150 broad. When Hispaniola was first discovered by Columbus, the number of its inhabitants was computed to be at least one million. But such was the cruelty of the Spaniards, and to so infamous a height did they carry their oppression of the poor natives, that they were reduced to sixty thousand in the space of fifteen years. The face of the island presents an agreeable variety of hills, vallies, woods, and rivers; and the soil is allowed to be extremely fertile, producing sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, maize, and the cassava root. The European cattle have so much multiplied here, that they run wild in the woods, and, as in South America, are hunted for the hides and tallow only. In the most barren part of the rocks they discovered formerly silver and gold.

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The mines, however, are not now worked. The north-west parts, which are in possession of the French, consist of large fruitful plains, which produce the articles already mentioned in vast abundance. This, indeed, is the best and most fruitful part of the best and most fertile island in the West Indies, and perhaps in the world. The most ancient town in this island, and in all the New World built by Europeans, is St. Domingo. It was founded by Bartholomew Columbus, brother to the admiral, in 1504, who gave it that name in honour of his father Dominic, and by which the whole island is sometimes named, especially by the French. It is situated on a spacious harbour, and is a large, well built city, inhabited, like the other Spanish towns, by a mixture of Europeans, creoles, mulattoes, and negroes. The French towns are, Cape St. Francois, the capital, which is neither walled nor paled in, and is said to have only two batteries, one at the entrance of the harbour, and the other before the town. It contains about 8000 whites and blacks. Leogane, though inferior in point of size, is a good port, a place of considerable trade, and the seat of the French government. They have two other towns considerable for their trade, Petit Guaves, and Port Lewis. It is computed that the exports of the French, from the above mentioned places are not less in value than 1,200,000^l. They likewise carry on a contraband trade with the Spaniards, which is much to their advantage, as they exchange French manufactures for Spanish dollars. “ In the night between the 22d and 23d of
“ of August, 1791, a most alarming insurrection of the
“ negroes began on the French plantations upon this
“ island. A scene of the most horrid cruelties ensued. In
“ a little time no less than one hundred thousand negroes
“ were in rebellion, and all the manufactories and planta-
“ tions of more than half the northern province appeared
“ as one general conflagration. The plains and the moun-
“ tains are filled with carnage, and deluged with blood.
“ The colonists, stupified with fear, know not where to
“ seek refuge; one flies for safety to the woods; is there
“ betrayed by his negroes and stabbed; another confides in
“ the promises of his slaves; a rebel ring-leader steals in
“ among them; the gang rises and the proprietor is their
“ victim. Scattered over a surface of land, intersected by
“ mountains and deep vallies, the flying inhabitants attempt
“ to rally, and to sell their lives dearly. The roads are
“ obstructed, and they are taken and massacred. Those
“ who re-unite, oppose but a feeble bulwark, against the
“ swelling torrent; they are dispersed and taken; and ex-
“ piate

" piate in tortures their exertions for self-preservation.
 " These horrible scenes were acting at the gate of the
 " town of the Cape. Terror and dismay take possession of every mind, yet all feel the urgency of providing
 " for their safety, of taking arms, and of acting under
 " the command of the governor. What the issue will
 " be it is impossible to say. More than one thousand of the
 " French have already fallen the victims of this revolt, and
 " perhaps fifteen thousand negroes will be destroyed before
 " order and tranquillity be re-established. But, should
 " they succeed in their projects, St. Domingo will become
 " the tomb of fifty thousand Frenchmen." We shall
 only make one reflection on the above facts, which is, that
 the situation of these unhappy negroes; men as well as
 their masters, and who have as good a right to the liberty
 of independence as they have, will very much extenuate
 some of the enormities which they have committed; enormities which will not bear a mention with those which
 these poor sufferers have received from their tyrants in their
 first captivity, and in the subsequent hard treatment they
 have had. Let the proprietors of these slaves ask themselves, whether, had these negroes carried them as slaves
 into Africa, they would not have thought it a noble effort
 to endeavour to regain their freedom. Every man feels the
 answer which would be given; and that answer will place
 the conduct of these Africans in its proper point of light*.

Porto Rico is beautifully diversified with woods, vallies, and plains; and extremely fertile, producing the same fruits as the other islands. It is well watered with springs and rivers; but the island is unhealthy in the rainy seasons. It was on account of the gold that the Spaniards settled here, but there is no longer any considerable quantity of this metal found in it. The capital town stands in a little island, on the north side, forming a capacious harbour, and joined to the chief island by a causeway, and defended by forts and batteries, which render the town almost inaccessible. It was, however, taken by Sir Francis Drake, and afterwards by the Earl of Cumberland. It is better inhabited than most of the Spanish towns, because it is the centre of the contraband trade carried on by the English and French with the king of Spain's subjects.

The island of *Juan Fernandez* is uninhabited; but having some good harbours, it is found extremely convenient for the English cruisers to touch at and water; and here they are in no danger of being discovered, unless when, as is generally the case, their arrival in the South Seas, and their motions have been made known to the Spaniards by our

* Abbé Raynal.

our good friends at Brazil. This island is famous for having given rise to the celebrated romance of Robinson Crusoe. It seems one Alexander Selkirk, a Scotsman was left ashore in this solitary place by his captain, where he lived some years, until he was discovered by captain Woodes Rogers, in 1709; when taken up he had forgotten his native language, and could scarcely be understood, seeming to speak his words by halves. He was dressed in goat's skins, would drink nothing but water, and was some time before he could relish the ship's victuals. During his abode in this island he had killed 500 goats; which he caught by running them down; and he marked as many more on the ear, which he let go. Some of these were caught thirty years after, by lord Anson's people; their venerable aspect and majestic beards discovered strong symptoms of antiquity. Selkirk, upon his return to England, was advised to publish an account of his life and adventures in his little kingdom. He is said to have put his papers into the hands of Daniel Defoe, to prepare them for publication. But, that writer, by the help of those papers, and a lively fancy, transformed Alexander Selkirk into Robinson Crusoe, and returned Selkirk his papers again; so that the latter derived no advantage from them. They were probably too indigested for publication, and Defoe, perhaps, derived little from them, but those hints which gave rise to his own celebrated performance.

CHAP. XVI.

New Britain, Canada, and Nova Scotia; British Colonies.

NEW BRITAIN, which comprehends all that tract of country lying round Hudson's Bay, abounds with lakes, rivers, and bays, that furnish plenty of fish. It is generally mountainous and extremely barren. In some places even the hardy pine-tree is seen no longer, and the cold womb of the earth is incapable of any better production than some miserable shrubs. Every kind of European seed hitherto committed to the earth, in this inhospitable climate has perished; but, perhaps, we have not tried the seed of corn from the northern parts of Sweden
and

and Norway, which might be more congenial to the climate. The fur of the various animals is close, soft, and warm. In summer there is a diversity in the colours of the animal creation; but when that season is over, they all assume the livery of winter, and the beasts, and most of the fowls, are of the colour of snow; every thing animate and inanimate is white. This is a surprising phenomenon. But what is still more remarkable, and is, indeed, one of the many striking things, that draw the most inattentive to an admiration of the wisdom and goodness of Providence, is, that the dogs and cats from England that have been carried into Hudson's Bay, on the approach of winter, have entirely changed their appearance, and acquired a much longer, softer, and thicker coat of hair, than they had originally.

The knowledge of this country was owing to a project started in England for the discovery of a north-west passage to China and the East Indies, as early as the year 1576. Since then it has been frequently dropped, and as often revived, but never yet completed; and from the late voyages of discovery it seems manifest, that no practicable passage ever can be found. Frobisher only discovered the main of New Britain, or Terra de Labrador, and those straits to which he has given his name. In 1585, John Davis sailed from Portsmouth, and viewed that and the more northerly coasts; but he seems never to have entered the bay. Hudson made three voyages on the same adventure, the first in 1607, the second in 1608, and his third and last in 1610. This bold and judicious navigator entered the straits that lead into this new Mediterranean, the bay known by his name, coasted a great part of it, and penetrated to eighty degrees and a half into the heart of the frozen zone. His ardour for the discovery not being abated by the difficulties he struggled with in this empire of winter, he staid here until the ensuing spring, and prepared, in the beginning of 1611, to pursue his discoveries; but his crew, who suffered equal hardships, without the same spirit to support them, mutinied, seized upon him and seven of those who were most faithful to him, and committed them to the fury of the icy seas, in an open boat. Hudson and his companions were either swallowed up by the waves, or, gaining the hospitable coast, were destroyed by the savages; but the ship and the rest of the men returned home.

The fishery and the fur trade are the only things which render this country valuable. This trade is in the hands of a company of nine or ten persons, to whom a charter was granted, for the exclusive trade to this bay, and they have acted under it ever since with great benefit to themselves.

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The fur and peltry trade might be carried on to a much greater extent, were it not entirely in the hands of this exclusive company, whose interested, not to say iniquitous spirit, has been the subject of long and just complaint. The company employ four ships, and 130 seamen. They have several forts, viz. Prince of Wales's fort, Churchill river, Nelson, New Severn, and Albany, which stand on the west side of the bay, and are garrisoned by 186 men. The French in May 1782, took and destroyed these forts, and the settlements, &c. valued at 500,000*l*. They export commodities to the value of 16,000*l*. and bring home returns to the value of 29,340*l*. which yield to the revenue 3,734*l*. This includes the fishery in Hudson's Bay. This commerce, small as it is, affords immense profits to the company, and even some advantages to Great Britain in general; for the commodities we exchange with the Indians for their skins and furs, are all manufactured in Britain; and as the Indians are not very nice in their choice, such things are sent, of which we have the greatest plenty, and which, in the mercantile phrase, are drugs with us.— Though the workmanship too happens to be in many respects so deficient, that no civilized people would take it off our hands, it may be admired among the Indians. On the other hand the skins and furs we bring from Hudson's Bay, enter largely into our manufactures, and afford us materials for trading with many nations of Europe, to great advantage.

Canada is 600 miles long, and 300 broad. It was discovered by the English, and settled by the French, whose manners were not very suitable A. D. 1603. to the climate. Those that lived in the country spent their winter in idleness, pensively sitting by their fire side. When the return of spring called them out to the indispensable labours of the field, they plowed the ground superficially without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harvest time. As the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harvest.— That of the Canadians was confined to a small quantity of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbage and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in the country. This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally prevented them
from

from exerting their abilities. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather for eight months successively, that labour appeared insupportable to them even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which owed its increase to their establishment, prevented the first exertion, as well as interrupted the progress of industry. Men are ready enough to comply with that species of devotion that flatters their indolence. Lastly, a passion for war, which had been purposely encouraged among these bold and courageous men, made them averse to the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay. The inhabitants of the cities, especially of the capital, spent the winter as well as the summer, in a constant scene of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no taste for arts or sciences, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement; and persons of all ages were fond of dancing at assemblies. This manner of life considerably increased the influence of the women, who were possessed of every attraction, except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the merit and the charm of beauty.—Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry; they were more fond of inspiring than feeling the tender passions. There appeared in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than of real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, which will always be the case wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works*. Idleness, prejudice, and levity would never have gained such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to lasting and useful objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the slow and sure process of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to submit to without examination. Delays, representations, excuses of honour, were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving, merely by his word. He had in his own power all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and

* Abbé Raynal.

the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees, as so many acts of justice, though they were but the irregular fallies of his own caprice.

The French kept possession of Canada till 1763, when, after a long and bloody war, it fell into the hands of the British, to whom it has ever since belonged. The present constitution of the province is founded on the 14th of George III. called the Quebec Bill. By this bill the legislative power is vested in the governor and legislative council. The council is composed of the lieutenant-governor, chief justice, and secretary for the time being, and twenty other members, of whom almost one half are French. They are appointed by the crown, and receive 100*l.* a year as a salary. Their power extends to all the necessary purposes of government, except the levying of taxes.

The amount of the exports from this province, in the year 1786, was three hundred and forty three thousand pounds. The amount of imports for the same year was three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. The exports consisted of wheat, flour, biscuit, flax-seed, lumber of various kinds, fish, pot-ash, oil, ginseng, and other medicinal roots, but principally of furs and peltries. The imports consisted of rum, brandy, molasses, coffee, sugar, wines, tobacco, salt, chocolate, provisions for the troops, and dry goods.

Quebec, the capital of Canada, is situated at the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles, about 350 miles from the sea. It is built on a rock, partly of marble and partly of slate. From Quebec to Montreal, which is about 170 miles, in sailing up the river St. Laurence, the eye is entertained with beautiful landscapes, the banks being in many places very steep and shaded with lofty trees. Many delightful islands are interspersed in the channel of the river, which have an agreeable effect upon the eye.

As Canada is upon the back of the United States, and contains almost all the different species of wood and animals that are to be found in these colonies, it may not be improper here to give some account of them. The uncultivated parts of North America contain the greatest forest in the world. They are a continued wood, not planted by the hands of men, but in appearance as old as the world itself. Nothing can be more magnificent to the sight. The trees lose themselves in the clouds; and there is such a prodigious variety of species, that even among those persons who have taken most pains to know them, there is not one perhaps that knows half the number. Ca-

nada

nada produces, amongst others, two sorts of pines, the white and the red; four sorts of firs; two sorts of cedar and oak, the white and the red; the male and female maple; three sorts of ash trees; the free, the mungrel, and the bastard; three sorts of walnut trees; the hard, the soft, and the smooth; vast numbers of beech trees, and white wood; white and red elms, and poplars. The Indians hollow the red elms into canoes, some of which are made out of one piece, and will contain twenty persons; others are made of the bark, the different pieces of which they sew together with the inner rind, and daub over the seams with pitch, or rather a bituminous matter resembling pitch, to prevent their leaking; and the ribs of these canoes are made of boughs of trees. About November the bears and wild cats take up their habitations in the hollow elms, and remain there till April. Here are also found cherry trees, plum trees, the vinegar tree, the fruit of which, infused in water, produces vinegar; an aquatic plant, called alaco, the fruit of which may be made into a confection; the white thorn; the cotton tree, on the top of which grow several tufts of flowers, when shaken in the morning, before the dew falls off, produces honey, that may be boiled up into sugar, the seed being a pod, containing a very fine kind of cotton; the sun-plant, which resembles a marigold, and grows to the height of seven or eight feet; Turkey corn; French beans; gourds, melons, capillaire, and the hop-plant.

The animal creation constitutes the most curious and interesting part of the natural history of Canada. It is to the spoils of these that we owe the materials of many of our manufactures, and most of the commerce as yet carried on between us and that province. The American beaver, though resembling the creature known in Europe by that name, has many particulars which render it the most curious animal we are acquainted with. It is near four feet in length, and weighs sixty or seventy pounds; they live from fifteen to twenty years, and the females bring forth four young ones at a time. It is an amphibious quadruped, that does not continue long at a time in the water, but yet cannot live without frequently bathing in it. The savages, who waged continual war with this animal, believed it to be a rational creature, that it lived in society, and was governed by a leader resembling their own sachem, or prince. It must, indeed, be allowed, that the curious accounts given of this animal by ingenious travellers, the manner in which it contrives its habitation, provides food to serve during the winter, and always in proportion to the continuance

tinuance and severity of it, are sufficient to shew the near approaches of instinct to reason, and even in some instances the superiority of the former. The colours are different; black, brown, white, yellow and straw-colour; but it is observed, that the lighter their colour, the less quantity of fur they are cloathed with, and live in warmer climates. The furs of the beaver are of two kinds, the dry and the green; the dry fur is the skin before it is applied to any use; the green are the furs that are worn, after being sewed to one another, by the Indians, who besmear them with unctuous substances, which not only render them more pliable, but give the fine down that is manufactured into hats, the oily quality which renders it proper to be worked up with dry fur. Both the Dutch and English have of late found the secret of making excellent clothes, gloves, and stockings, as well as hats, from the beaver fur. Besides the fur, this useful animal produces the true castoreum, which is contained in bags in the lower part of the belly, different from the testicles: the value of this drug is well known. The flesh of the beaver is a most delicious food, but when boiled, it has a disagreeable relish.

The elk is of the size of a horse or mule. Many extraordinary medicinal qualities, particularly that of curing the falling-sickness, are ascribed to the hoof of the left foot of this animal. Its flesh is very agreeable and nourishing, and its colour a mixture of light-grey and dark-red. They love the cold countries; and when the winter affords them no grass, they gnaw the bark of trees. It is dangerous to approach very near this animal when he is hunted, as he sometimes springs furiously on his pursuers, and tramples them to pieces. To prevent this, the hunter throws his clothes to him, and while the deluded animal spends his fury on these, he takes proper measures to dispatch him.

There is a carnivorous animal here, called the carcajou, of the feline or cat kind, with a tail so long, that a celebrated writer* says he twisted it several times round his body. Its body is about two feet in length, from the end of the snout to the tail. It is said, that this animal, winding himself about a tree, will dart from thence upon the elk, twisting his strong tail round his body, and cut his throat in a moment.

The buffaloe, a kind of wild ox, has much the same appearance with those of Europe; his body is covered with

* Charlevoix.

a black wool, which is highly esteemed. The flesh of the female is very good; and the buffaloe hides, are soft and pliable as chamois leather, but so very strong, that the bucklers which the Indians make use of are hardly penetrable by a musket ball. The Canadian roebuck is a domestic animal. Wolves are scarce in Canada, but they afford the finest furs in all the country: their flesh is white, and good to eat; and they pursue their prey to the tops of the tallest trees. The black foxes are greatly esteemed, and very scarce; but those of other colours are more common; and some on the upper Mississippi are of a silver colour, and very beautiful. They live upon water-fowls, which they decoy with their clutches by a thousand antic tricks, and then spring upon, and devour them. The Canadian pole-cat has a most beautiful white fur, except the tip of his tail, which is as black as jet. Nature has given this animal no defence but its urine, the smell of which is nauseous and intolerable; this, when attacked, it sprinkles plentifully on its tail, and throws it on the assailant. The Canadian wood-rat is of a beautiful silver colour, with a bushy tail, and twice as big as the European: the female carries under her belly a bag, which she opens and shuts at pleasure; and in that she places her young when pursued. Here are three sorts of squirrels; that called the flying squirrel will leap forty paces and more, from one tree to another. This little animal is easily tamed, and is very lively; he puts up wherever he can find a place, in one's sleeve, pocket, or muff; he first pitches on his master, whom he will distinguish among twenty persons. The Canadian porcupine is less than a middling dog; when roasted he eats full as well as a sucking pig. The hares and rabbits differ little from those in Europe, only they turn grey in winter. There are two sorts of bears here, one of a reddish, and the other of a black colour; but the former is the most dangerous. These bears are not naturally fierce, unless when wounded, or oppressed with hunger. They are said to support themselves during the winter, when the snow lies from four to six feet deep, by sucking their paws. Scarcely any thing among the Indians is undertaken with greater solemnity than hunting the bear; and an alliance with a noted bear-hunter, who has killed several in one day, is more eagerly sought after than that of one who has rendered himself famous in war. The reason is, because this chace supplies the family with food and raiment.

Of the feathered creation, they have eagles, falcons, partridges, grey, red, and black, with long tails, which they spread out as a fan, and make a very beautiful appearance; woodcocks are scarce in Canada, but snipes, and other water-

water-game, are plentiful. Here are black-birds, swallows, and larks; no less than twenty-two different species of ducks, and a great number of swans, turkeys, geese, bustards, teal, water-hens, cranes, and other large water-fowl; but always at a distance from houses. The Canadian wood-pecker is a beautiful bird. Thrushes and goldfinches are found here; but the chief Canadian bird of melody is the white-bird, which is a kind of ortolan, very showy, and remarkable for announcing the return of spring*.

Among the reptiles of this country, the rattle-snake only deserves attention. Some of these are as big as a man's leg, and they are long in proportion. What is most remarkable in this animal is the tail, which is scaly like a coat of mail, and on which it is said there grows every year one ring, or row of scales; so that they know its age by its tail, as we do that of a horse by its teeth. In moving it makes a rattling noise, from which it has its name. The bite of this serpent is mortal, if a remedy is not applied immediately. In all places where this dangerous reptile is bred, there grows a plant, which is called rattle-snake herb, the root of which (such is the goodness of Providence) is a certain antidote against the venom of this serpent, and that with the most simple preparation, for it requires only to be pounded or chewed, and applied like a plaster to the wound. The rattle-snake seldom bites passengers, unless it is provoked; and never darts itself at any person without first rattling three times with its tail. When pursued, if it has but little time to recover, it folds itself round, with the head in the middle, and then darts itself with great fury and violence against its pursuers: nevertheless, the savages chase it, and find its flesh very good; and being also of a medicinal quality, it is used by the American apothecaries in particular cases. Some writers are of opinion that the fisheries in Canada, if properly improved, would be more likely to enrich that country than even the fur trade. The river St. Lawrence contains perhaps the greatest variety of any in the world, and these in the greatest plenty and of the best sorts. Besides a great variety of other fish in the rivers and lakes, are sea-wolves, sea-cows, porpoises, the lencornet, the goberque, the sea-plaise, salmon, trout, turtle, lobsters, the chaourasou, sturgeon, and achigean; the gilthead, tunny, trout, turtle, prey, smelts, conger-eels, mackarel, soals, herrings, anchovies, and pilchards. The sea-wolf, so called from its howling, is an amphibious creature; the largest are said to weigh two thousand pounds; their flesh is good eating; and the profit of it lies in the oil,

* Buffon.

which is proper for burning, and currying of leather; their skins make excellent coverings for trunks, and though not so fine as morocco leather, they preserve their freshness better, and are less liable to cracks. The shoes and boots made of those skins let in no water, and, when properly tanned, make excellent and lasting covers for seats. The Canadian sea-cow is larger than the sea-wolf, but resembles it in figure: it has two teeth of the thickness and length of a man's arm, which, when grown, look like horns, and are very fine ivory, as well as its other teeth. Some of the porpoises of the river St. Lawrence are said to yield a hoghead of oil; and of their skins waistcoats are made, which are musket proof. The lencornet is a kind of cuttle-fish, quite round, or rather oval; there are three sorts of them, which differ only in size; some being as large as a hoghead, and others but a foot long; they catch only the last, and that with a torch; they are excellent eating. The goberque has the taste and smell of a small cod. The sea-plaife is good eating; they are taken with long poles armed with iron hooks. The chaourasou is an armed fish, about five feet long, and as thick as a man's thigh, resembling a pike; but is covered with scales that are a proof against a dagger; its colour is a silver grey; and there grows under his mouth a long bony substance, ragged at the edges. One may readily conceive, that an animal so well fortified is a ravager among the inhabitants of the water; but we have few instances of fish making prey of the feathered creation, which this fish does, however, with much art. He conceals himself among the canes and reeds, and in such a manner that nothing is to be seen besides his weapon, which he holds raised perpendicularly above the surface of the water; the fowls, which come to take rest, imagining the weapon to be only a withered reed, perch upon it; but they are no sooner alighted, than the fish opens his throat, and makes such a sudden motion to seize his prey, that it seldom escapes him. This fish is an inhabitant of the lakes. The sturgeon is both a fresh and salt water fish, taken on the coasts of Canada and the lakes, from eight to twelve feet long, and proportionably thick. There is a small kind of sturgeon, the flesh of which is very tender and delicate. The achigean, and the gilthead, are fish peculiar to the river St. Lawrence. Some of the rivers breed a kind of crocodile, that differs but little from those of the Nile.

The seal has been ranked in the class of fish; though he is not dumb, he is always produced on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws which are very short, especially the

the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon; they are shaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His skin is hard and covered with short hair. He is at first white, but turns sandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all these three different colours. There are two different kinds of seals. The larger one sometimes weighs two thousand pounds, and seems to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dexterous in extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them. The dams bring forth their young upon the rocks, and sometimes on the ice. They more frequently suckle them on land than in the water. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then in the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds; it is not therefore surprising, that the seal produced on land, should use her little ones to live under water. There is a very simple manner of fishing for these amphibious animals; who are used, when they are in the sea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As soon as some place is discovered where they resort in shoals, it is surrounded with nets and stakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high-water this opening is stopped up, and when the tide is gone down, the fish remains on dry ground. All that is necessary is to kill them. Sometimes the fishermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking-places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are easily caught; if they are killed, they sink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs, that are trained up to dive for them seven or eight fathom under water. The grain of the seals' skin is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it is not quite so fine, it preserves its colour longer. The flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpose, it is sufficient to set it on the fire in a copper or earthen vessel. It is thought frequently sufficient to spread the fat upon large squares made of boards, where it melts of itself, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpose.

Nova Scotia, by which at present is understood all the coast of three hundred leagues in length, included between

the limits of New-England, and the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula, lying nearly in the middle of this space. The climate of this country, though within the temperate zone, has been found rather unfavourable to European constitutions. They are wrapt up in the gloom of a fog during great part of the year, and for four or five months it is intensely cold. But though the cold in winter and the heat in summer are great, they come on gradually, so as to prepare the body for enduring both. From such an unfavourable climate little can be expected. Nova Scotia, or New Scotland, was, till lately, almost a continued forest; and agriculture, though attempted by the English settlers, has hitherto made little progress. In most parts the soil is thin and barren, the corn it produces, of a shrivelled kind like rye, and the grass intermixed with a cold spongy moss. However, it is not uniformly bad; there are tracts in the peninsula to the southward, which do not yield to the best land in New England; and, in general, the soil is adapted to the produce of hemp and flax. The timber is extremely proper for ship-building, and produces pitch and tar.

Notwithstanding the forbidding appearance of this country, it was here that some of the European settlements were made. The first grant of lands in it was given by James I. to his secretary sir William Alexander, from whom it had the name of Nova Scotia, or New Scotland. Since then it has frequently changed hands, from one private proprietor to another, and from the French to the English nation backward and forward. It was not confirmed to the English till the peace of Utrecht, and their design in acquiring it does not seem to have so much arisen from any prospect of direct profit to be obtained by it, as from an apprehension that the French, by possessing this province, might have had it in their power to annoy our other settlements. Upon A. D. 1716. this principle, three thousand families were transported, at the charge of the government, into this country. The town they erected is called Halifax, from the earl of that name, to whose wisdom and care we owe this settlement. The town of Halifax stands upon Chebucto Bay, very commodiously situated for the fishery, and has a communication with most parts of the province, either by land carriage, the sea, or navigable rivers, with a fine harbour, where a small squadron of ships of war lies during the winter, and in summer puts to sea, under the command of a commodore, for the protection of the fishery, and to see that the articles of the peace, relating thereto, are duly observed.

observed by the French. The town has an entrenchment, and is strengthened with forts of timber. Three regiments of men were stationed in it to protect the inhabitants from the Indians, whose resentment, however excited or fomented, has been found implacable against the English. The number of inhabitants is said to be fifteen or sixteen thousand, who live very comfortably by the trade they carry on in furs and naval stores, by their fisheries, and by supplying the wants of the governor and the garrison already mentioned.

The other towns of less note are Annapolis Royal, which stands on the east side of the bay of Fundy, and though but a small wretched place, was formerly the capital of the province. It has one of the first harbours in America, capable of containing a thousand vessels at anchor in the utmost security. This place is also protected by a fortified garrison. St. John's is a new settlement at the mouth of the river of that name, that falls into the bay of Fundy on the west side. Since the conclusion of the American war, the emigration of loyalists to this province from the United States, has been very great. By them new towns have been raised, but particularly at Port Roseway, where is now a city named *Shelburne*, which extends two miles on the water side, and one mile back, with wide streets crossing each other at right angles. It is said to have about nine thousand inhabitants, exclusive of what is styled the *Black Town*, (containing twelve hundred free blacks, who served on the royal side during the war), which stands about a mile from Shelburne, and separated from it by a small fresh-water river. The harbour here is deep, capacious, and secure, and the tide hath a great rise and fall. Such of the loyalists as apply for lands have in proportion to the property they possessed before the troubles in America commenced, allowing for such as have large families to provide for. And it is said that the new appointed governor of New Brunswick has it in his instructions to grant, without fee or reward, to such reduced officers as served in provincial corps during the late war in North America, and shall personally apply for the same, the following quantities of lands, subject at the expiration of ten years to the same quit-rents as other lands are subject in the province of Nova Scotia, as also subject to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement. To every person having the rank of a field officer, three thousand acres; and to every subaltern one thousand acres. The reduced officers of the navy are entitled to land in the same proportion. The exports from Great Britain to this country consist chiefly of woollen and linen cloth, and other necessaries for wear, of fishing tackle, and

and rigging for ships. The amount of our exports, at an average of three years, before the new settlements, was about 26,500*l*. The only articles we can get in exchange are timber, and the produce of the fishery, which, at a like average, amounted to 38,000*l*. But from the late increase of inhabitants, it is supposed that they will now erect saw-mills, and endeavour to supply the West India islands with timber of every kind, as well as with the produce of the fishery, which will be a profitable article to both countries. The whole population of Nova Scotia and the island adjoining is estimated at fifty thousand. Recent accounts of these settlements represent them at present in a declining state, great numbers of the houses in the new town being uninhabited, and considerably reduced in value.



END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.